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"the
Jeffersonian
heritage"

"the Jeffersonian heritage"

A distinguished series of programs pointing up the richness of our inheritance from one of America's greatest thinkers.

Starring Claude Rains, based on the research and advice of Professor Dumas Malone of the department of history of Columbia University. Thirteen half-hour recordings.

Produced by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

The titles in the series are :

1. The Living Declaration
2. The Democrat and the Commissar
3. Divided We Stand
4. Light and Liberty
5. The Return of the Patriot
6. The Danger of Freedom
7. The Ground of Justice
8. Freedom to Work
9. Freedom of the Press
10. The University of the United States
11. To Secure These Rights
12. Nature's Most Precious Gift
13. What the Jeffersonian Heritage Means Today

\$25.00 per album, 33 1/3 r.p.m.



"THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE"

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RADIO STATION

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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

Mr. Frank Schooley
Radio Station WILL
Univ. of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

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"the *Jeffersonian*

Jefferson



heritage"

A series of **13** radio shows



7th
Nation

2

“The Living Declaration”

“The Democrat and the Commissar”

- 1 "The Living Declaration"
- 2 "The Democrat and the Commisar"
- 3 "Divided We Stand"
- 4 "Light and Liberty"
- 5 "The Return of the Patriot"

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by permission of the New York State Historical Association

THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE

1952

releases and Miscellaneous
Material

THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE

Fact Sheet

Pressings of the 13 half-hour radio dramas are available to all radio stations.

None will be sold on an exclusive basis.

Series must be carried on a sustaining basis. No sponsorship will be permitted.

The pressings will be shipped to stations ordering the series on or about November 1. A more definite date will be indicated by NAEB no later than October 10.

The cost per set of pressings is \$25. The charge includes shipping direct from the manufacturer to the stations ordering.

Limited promotional material will be made available. See leaflet enclosed.

NAEB cannot guarantee delivery for orders received after October 10.

Audition discs are currently not available.

Send check or write for further information:

National Association of Educational Broadcasters
Frank Schooley, Treasurer
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

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FROM:

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS
2500 Municipal Building New York 7, N. Y.

FOR RELEASE: JULY 28th, 1952

The principles and ideas of Thomas Jefferson as applied throughout the course of American history are to be depicted in a series of radio programs on "The Jeffersonian Heritage", that soon will be presented under the auspices of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

In announcing the new thirteen-week series, Seymour N. Siegel, President of the NAEB, disclosed that the broadcasts on Jefferson will be the first of many sets of programs devised to give the radio-listening public a lively insight into matters of historical and contemporary significance.

Broadly conceived to afford a perspective on significant topics that will at once inform, entertain and educate, the new NAEB programs have been made possible under a \$300,000 grant from the Fund for Adult Education established by the Ford Foundation.

The special adult education committee of the NAEB which has planned and will produce the new sets of radio program series consists of George Probst, of the University of Chicago, chairman; Parker Wheatley, Lowell Institute Cooperative Broadcasting Council; Richard B. Hull, Iowa State College; Harold B. McCarty, University of Wisconsin, and Mr. Siegel, Director of the Municipal Broadcasting System, New York City.

The forthcoming series will be broadcast by member stations of the NAEB Tape Network, a cooperative organization devoted to the dissemination of outstanding radio programs. The programs also will be made available to United Nations Radio, The Voice of America, the British Broadcasting Corporation, The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Australian Broadcasting Company, and All-India Radio.

The member stations of the NAEB Tape Network are owned and operated by educational institutions, municipalities and other public service agencies.

The programs will be made available to commercial station operators on a sustaining basis and it is expected that at least one series of those to be produced will be broadcast over a national network.

The sets of series are planned to fit into a broad pattern of four main outlines -- The American Heritage, The Nature of Man, International Understanding and Public Affairs. Since the project is flexible, the ideas to be worked out in some of the later programs and their presentation will depend in some measure on public response to the opening series.

The initial series on "The Jeffersonian Heritage" will seek to explore the enduring ideas that are best summed up in our Declaration of Independence, among American historic documents and best exemplified and symbolized by Thomas Jefferson as an individual. Avoiding any emphasis on biography, the programs will seek to translate into living terms through dramatic action the Jefferson embodiment of the spirit which should animate men and the general principles which should guide them here and now.

From the "Living Declaration", opening program of the first series, throughout, this radio venture will seek to make real and vibrant the principal features of the American Heritage as passed down from Thomas Jefferson through a national history richly endowed with his ideas. These features are seen as: -- one rich, fair land, offering vast opportunities; one diverse people, melted into a national unit; one background of knowledge and skills inherited from the many races of our ancestry, and lastly, the new timeless and universal ideas of a new land.

Through the narrative of the new radio series, it is hoped to show that the principles enunciated by Jefferson and other great men of our history, which may have lost meaning for many persons because of their familiarity, were outlined in words actually spoken by living human beings at particular times and places.

To a public that, largely because of the Jefferson Heritage, selects its own government and thereby helps to work out the destiny of its own land, the NAEB dramatic offerings will make an effort to bring home the eternal Jeffersonian truth that "The earth belongs to the living generation".

Hence, it is felt, it can be assumed that contemporary radio listeners -- a cross-section of the voting public -- will be easily stimulated to learn what men have done with Jeffersonian principles over the years and what is being done with these principles now.

As a mirror of the trend of historic thought and action from an early American predominantly agricultural society in an age of slow transportation and relative physical isolation to a contemporary industrial society closely interlocked with the rest of the world, the NAEB programs will strive to reflect the American ideology as Jefferson saw it. This ideology is that human considerations come first and that the sanctity of the personality and freedom of the mind are the most precious of human possessions.

Commenting on the "Jeffersonian Heritage" series of radio programs, Mr. Probst said:

"We are engaged in producing programs of the quality of 'Henry V', or Sherwood's 'Abraham Lincoln in Illinois', or MacLeish's 'The Fall of the City'. We are trying to produce programs that are 'consumer durables'. We are trying to produce programs that can be rebroadcast ten or twenty years from now to both our satisfaction and the satisfaction of the listener.

"We are doing this really against the whole current of American writing and American commercial radio, which are devoted to the production of programs that are really 'consumer perishables' --- At no previous time in American radio has there been an occasion when anybody had the funds, or thought it was worthwhile to try to create an outstanding series of programs about Jefferson, or about any other outstanding American"

FROM:

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS
2500 Municipal Building
New York 7, N. Y.

file Jefferson
FOR RELEASE: AUGUST 25th, 1952

The great ideals of our American democracy that found expression in the life and writings of Thomas Jefferson will be translated into living terms through the medium of radio in a series of programs on "The Jeffersonian Heritage", which soon will be heard by listeners in this area.

Beginning September 14th, 1952, over the educational radio stations of America, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters will present a thirteen-week series designed to explore in lively and entertaining fashion the principles that made Jefferson symbolic of America and that found vivid expression in his writings, notably the Declaration of Independence.

Seymour N. Siegel, President of the NAEB, predicted that "The Jeffersonian Heritage", from the first program through the last, would inform, entertain and educate. The "Heritage" series, he said, would not be biographical, but would seek to recreate Jefferson as a living voice, his ideals as living ideals, and his principles as enduring qualities that should guide men of the present day.

Today, Mr. Siegel said, there is a tendency to look upon the acts, words and motivating forces of Jefferson and others of our founding fathers purely as history. By means of the forthcoming radio programs, the NAEB President explained, it is hoped to bring to vibrant life with real dramatic fire, the thoughts that Jefferson expressed and the principles he espoused. Radio, Mr. Siegel said, is the ideal instrument for recreating the tensions and trials that produced Jefferson and many of his great contemporaries.

The first of the thirteen-week series, entitled "The Living Declaration", will launch the story of Jeffersonian ideas, stemming from the Declaration of Independence and running through all of American history.

The presentations on "The Jeffersonian Heritage", together with other series of programs that will follow, have been made possible under a \$300,000 grant from the Fund for Adult Education, established by the Ford Foundation. George Probst, of the University of Chicago is Chairman of the special Adult Education Committee of the NAEB, which has planned and will produce the "Heritage" and later series.

The programs will be broadcast by member stations of the NAEB Tape Network, a cooperative organization devoted to the dissemination of outstanding radio programs. The series will be made available also to the United Nations Radio, The Voice of America, The British Broadcasting Corporation, The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, the Australian Broadcasting System, The New Zealand Broadcasting System, and All-India Radio.

The programs are to be made available to commercial station operators on a sustaining basis, and it is expected that at least one series of those to be produced will be broadcast over a national network.

In addition to "The Jeffersonian Heritage", other contemplated series are "The Ways of Mankind", "People Under Communism", and "The People Talk Back".

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"THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE"

- Program #1 "The Living Declaration"
An introductory program dramatizing Jefferson's part in the Declaration of Independence, and presenting the main theme -- that his ideas and ideals in that historic document are living realities. The emphasis is suggested by the quotation "The earth belongs always to the living generation."
- Program #2 "The Democrat and the Commissar"
The Jeffersonian and historic American conception of revolution compared and contrasted with the communist or totalitarian conception.
- Program #3 "Divided We Stand"
Jefferson's conception of religious freedom against any and all attempts to enforce uniformity.
- Program #4 "Freedom to Work"
The freedom of economic enterprise as Jefferson dealt with that question. The main emphasis is on his land reforms and the idea of economic opportunity for all human beings.
- Program #5 "Light and Liberty"
The progress of science is contingent on a state of liberty. This program is descriptive of Jefferson's wide interests and portrays him as one who sought after useful truth throughout his life.
- Program #6 "The Return of a Patriot"
This is a dramatization of Jefferson's return from France and his acceptance of the Secretaryship of State. The central idea is public responsibility and the subordination of personal preference to the general welfare.
- Program #7 "The Danger of Freedom"
The central theme of this episode is freedom of the mind and freedom for those who disagree with us, as well as those who agree.
- Program #8 "The Ground of Justice"
This program illustrates the unfairness of political trials at the end of the 18th century, and the need for fair play in the courts. Jefferson narrates the defense of British Soldiers by John Adams after the Boston Massacre.

Program #9 "Freedom of the Press"

The values and abuses of a free press shown dramatically by Jefferson's advocacy of it while in opposition, and his continued advocacy of it under considerable disillusionment during the attacks on him while he was President.

Program #10 "The University of the United States"

This program illustrates the founding of the University of Virginia, and describes Jefferson's bill for "The More General Diffusion of Knowledge". The central ideas are universal public education and the application of selective tests in higher education.

Program #11 "To Secure These Rights"

The ultimate purposes of government, illustrated by the political association of Jefferson and James Madison during half a century. "Nothing is unchangeable but the inherent and inalienable rights of man."

Program #12 "Nature's Most Precious Gift"

The natural aristocracy of talent and virtue dramatized by the friendship between Jefferson and John Adams, and discussed by them in their famous correspondence of old age. The program ends with the death of both men on July 4th, 1826.

Program #13 "What the Jeffersonian Heritage Means Today."

A summation by Professor Dumas Malone.

"the
Jeffersonian
heritage"

WHAT LISTENERS THINK ABOUT IT.

"The Living Declaration" was thrilling because of the splendor of its ideas and the dignity of its language. It should attract a very great audience. Its influence might be incalculable. I.S.

The Jeffersonian Heritage program was excellent. Claude Rains as Jefferson was the very best. Timing of the release of the program was good, especially in the face of all the investigations. It has always disturbed me that people in general do not really understand democracy in its deepest sense. It is too often described in terms of material welfare. Some know what it is not, but not enough know its positive nature. The Foundation as well as the head of the Ford Co. has shown imagination, foresight and courage at a time when such qualities are sadly lacking. F.F.W.

An excellent program, full of the real Americanism that made America great. We shall look forward to more presentations of "The Jeffersonian Heritage" H. and D S.

Enjoyed your Sunday program immensely. It was not only interesting and inspiring but educational as well. Hope to hear more of them. Mr. and Mrs.
H.L.E.

Delightfully refreshing. A splendid review of the struggle of blind loyalty versus the bold demand for freedom from coercion and injustice. This start earmarks a deep appreciation for the entire series. Mr. and Mrs. H.D.W.

I listened to the program on Sunday and was very thrilled and impressed by it. I hope you are able to have a large listening audience for such an important interpretation of our rights as Americans! H.C.

It was a fine program. If the world had more Jeffersons fewer Hitlers and Stalins and, yes, McCarthys, what a better world it would be. Keep up the good work. It is a wonderful project and we will be looking forward to future programs. Mr. and Mrs. M.C.S.

Was thrilled by the March 1st. broadcast. I liked especially how the Declaration of Independence was a growth of ideas. I liked the feeling of tension and dissention produced. The time whizzed by for me, but I wondered if it would for the people we are trying to interest in adult education for the first time? Actually there was very little action and almost no change of scene and Rains speeches were long. E.R.

I enjoyed the broadcast very much. Wonder how you can get more people to listen? Was pleased to note that Americans wanted no security from birth to grave - How far our central government has wandered from that policy! W.W.B.

I was much impressed by the first broadcast of "The Jeffersonian Heritage". I felt it was a great combination of talents that should have good popular appeal in keeping our citizens aware of this heritage. L.M.

Enjoyed the Jefferson program - I believe a fine series can be built on this beginning - The timing was good and diction very fine. - Will look forward to succeeding programs. A.H.D.

Liked the Jeffersonian Heritage program. Liked especially the method --narration and drama combined. D.N.

I was especially interested because the character portrayed was Jefferson, in whom I am always finding new traits to admire. The outline of political thinking was clearly brought out. This is definitely "adult education". H.G.B.

"The Living Declaration" program of March 1st. seemed well planned, well cast and carried through. I found it very interesting. If the following programs are as well done, the series should give all who hear it a real evaluation of our great heritage. I think teachers, college and High School pupils should be urged to listen. M.G.W.

The radio program was listened to intently at our house. It is rightfully called "The Living Declaration" because it so vitally applies to our time and life today. It is a program well worth anyone's time. We will look forward to listening to the rest of the series. Mr. and Mrs. R.L.

"The Living Heritage" was a thrilling and informative statement of freedom. We, did, however find that the slightly disjointed series of episodes required concentrated attention. Mrs. V.A.L.

I missed part of the program, but enjoyed what I heard very much. However, with spring coming on, the time is bad in our family. Sunday evening is best. Could these be used in a discussion group? C.J.

Rains one of the best to handle this role, and he did it in an excellent manner. The ballad singing, or chanting seemed odd at first, but may work in well as we get accustomed to the series. In general Ford Foundation is to be highly commended. Am looking forward to this time on KSCJ. P.L.

Informative and pleasantly educational - the type of program that is needed to give our children as well as adults a better understanding of our history. The musical background made it hard to hear at times. Mrs.J.J.W.

I loved the Jeffersonian Heritage program Sunday afternoon. It was beautifully done. L.H.E.

Interesting, inspiring, instructive, Let's have more like it. Mrs. A.C.L.

MEMORANDUM TO ALL MEMBER STATIONS TO THE NAEB

FROM: SEYMOUR N. SIEGEL, PRESIDENT

Herewith are copies of suggested releases for each of the 13 programs which constitute "The Jeffersonian Heritage" series. These releases may be re-written completely, if you so desire.

The best way to make us of these is to mimeograph or duplicate each release - after filling in your station call letters, and the time, day and date that the program is to go on the air. These should be mailed to all the radio and newspaper editors in your area at least 10 days to two weeks before air time.

You might use extra copies and send them directly to some of the important people in your institution, and your community.

Please note that the use of term "Release Number 1" should not appear on your own copy.

We would be delighted to hear from you as to how you are making use of this audience building aid.

sns/t
encls.

From: Radio Station XXXX
Address
Telephone

(date of release issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (date)

RADIO STATION WXXX INTRODUCES NEW SERIES ON
THOMAS JEFFERSON.

The introductory program of the new thirteen-week series on "The Jeffersonian Heritage", produced by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters will be presented on (date) over Radio Station (name) at ---- P.M.

"The Living Declaration", which will lead off the distinguished series of narratives of the life and times of Thomas Jefferson, will dramatize the part played by Jefferson in the writing of the Declaration of Independence. The main theme of the opening broadcast will be that the third President's ideas and the ideas in the Declaration are living realities.

Morton Wishengrad wrote the text for the first program, which will emphasize the Jeffersonian quotation: "The earth belongs to the living generation." The script is based on the research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University.

Produced and directed by Frank Fapp, as an Adult Education Project of the NAEB, the dramatization will carry vibrant dialogue against a background of music composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky. The music has been paced to provide depth and meaning to the impressive dialogue.

As Thomas Jefferson, Claude Rains, the distinguished star of stage, screen and radio, speaks the sonorous words that might be considered the keynote of the first program of "The Jeffersonian Heritage".

"Some men look at constitutions and declarations with sanctimonious reverence and deem them like the ark of the covenant, too sacred to be touched. They ascribe to men of the preceding age a wisdom more than human. I knew that age well. I belonged to it. I labored with it. It deserved well of its country and of you, but what it did is not beyond amendment. The earth belongs, not to dead men, but to you."

From: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of release issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

"The Democrat and the Commisar", second in the radio series of "The Jeffersonian Heritage", will be presented -- (date) -- over Radio Station -- (name) -- at ---- P.M.

Starring the noted motion picture actor, Claude Rains, the dramatization follows plans of the well-known historian and biographer, Dumas Malone, and was prepared with his counsel.

Music composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky serves to heighten the dramatic impact of the spoken words. In this new episode of the "Heritage" series, the Jeffersonian and historic American conception of revolution is compared and contrasted with the Communist or Marxian conception.

Milton Geiger wrote the "Democrat and the Commissar", which was produced and directed by Frank Papp.

The stirring action of this episode in the broadcast series places Jefferson in modern times face to face with a Russian Commissar appearing before the Posthumous Committee on Revolutionary Activities Investigation. Throughout the verbal duel Jefferson seeks to establish that his country's revolution was "political rebellion, prudently sought, against insufferable tyranny", and, by inference, that the Soviet Revolution "merely replaced one tyrant with another".

His voice rising to a pitch of eloquence, Jefferson says:

"No country can preserve its liberties if its rulers do not heed the natural spirit of resistance to injustice among its people. I know indeed that some honest men fear that this government is not strong enough I believe that this is the strongest government on earth. Sometimes it is said that man cannot be trusted with the government of himself. Can he, then, be trusted with the government of others? Or have we found angels in the form of dictators to govern him? Let history answer this question."

From: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of Release issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM THEME OF HERITAGE PROGRAM ON WXXX

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters takes pride in presenting "Divided We Stand", the third in an Adult Education Project series, "The Jeffersonian Heritage". The new episode will be broadcast --- (date) --- over Radio Station -- (name) -- at -- (time) --.

Following the pattern of the two previous dramatizations, the third in the series dwells upon those Jeffersonian principles that helped to make this nation great. The new episode was written by Morton Wishengrad, and directed by Frank Papp.

Throughout the text of "Divided We Stand", the interplay of music serves to emphasize the meaning of the spoken words and to provide effective transitions from one trend of thought to another. The episode was based on the research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University.

The third broadcast of the "Heritage" series will tell of the Jeffersonian concept of religious freedom -- against any and all attempts to enforce uniformity. It will explore the values of diversity as compared with monolithic systems and conceptions. As in previous broadcasts, Thomas Jefferson is portrayed by the noted actor of the screen, Claude Rains.

In ringing words, Thomas Jefferson will tell us in this newest broadcast of the series:

"The care of everyman's soul belongs to himself."

And at another point he will say:

"We must grant each human being the free right of conscience and tell a world that watches us that in matters of opinion our philosophy is: Divided we stand, united we fall. Because uniformity of conscience is coercion. And coercion is the greatest of all tyrannies over the mind of man."

From: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

THE SEARCH FOR TRUTH FEATURES WXXX'S JEFFERSON
HERITAGE PROGRAM.

The progress of science is contingent on a state of liberty. A new program, "Light and Liberty", fourth in the notable series "The Jeffersonian Heritage", is descriptive of Thomas Jefferson's wide interests and portrays him as one who sought after useful truth throughout his life.

"Light and Liberty", sponsored as an Adult Education Project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters and starring the well-known screen actor Claude Rains as Jefferson, will be heard -- (date)-- over Radio Station --(name) -- at -- (time)-- .

The newest episode in the historic Jefferson series is written by Milton Geiger and is produced and directed by Frank Papp. The sketch is based on the research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone, professor of history at Columbia University.

Seymour N. Siegel, President of N.A.E.B., pointed out that listeners to the new radio dramatization would hear the same individuality in the use of music, composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky, that has characterized the previous broadcasts of the series. Dramatic effects, harmonizing with the spirit of the story, are achieved by the use of appropriate music to give emphasis to situations and separate pertinent passages.

"Light and liberty go together", Jefferson will say in one of the sonorous passages of the new sketch. "Men will be freer and happier as they come to know more about everything. And to that great end of usefulness; to strive, to seek the light, to find, and not to yield to the Powers of Darkness. And because Man fulfills this mission, the light shed on the mind of man has given it a new direction from which no human power can divert it."

FROM: Radio Station WXXX

Address

Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

JEFFERSON'S RETURN TO AMERICA DRAMATIZED ON STATION WXXX

A dramatization of Thomas Jefferson's return from France and his acceptance of the Secretaryship of State of his own country is portrayed in "The Return of a Patriot", fifth in a radio series, "The Jeffersonian Heritage". The sketch, with the noted actor Claude Rains taking the part of Jefferson will be heard -- (date) -- over Radio Station -- (name) -- at -- (time) --.

With the four preceding episodes in the "Heritage" series already enthusiastically received by a representative cross-section of radio listeners, Seymour N. Siegel, President of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, producer of the series, predicted that "The Return of a Patriot" would draw an even wider listener response.

Milton Geiger has written and Frank Papp has produced and directed the new episode, whose central idea is public responsibility -- the subordination of personal preference to the general welfare. In the unfolding of the story, we see how Jefferson's own record of service, supplemented by the individualism of his philosophy, in itself constitutes a priceless legacy to his country.

The new episode has a music score composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky. The narrative is based on research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University, who provides a running commentary for the dramatization.

Summarizing the doubts that assailed Jefferson when George Washington offered him the Secretaryship of State, the commentary in the new episode says:

"Thomas Jefferson, the First Citizen of Albermarle, did not know yet where duty would lead him. But in the region of his birth, this traveler just returned from a continent in the first throes of revolt against oppression (France), renewed his allegiance to the holy cause of freedom, while announcing his undying faith in the sufficiency of human reason and his reliance on the will of the majority."

FROM: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

STATION WXXX SCHEDULES DRAMATIZATION ON
"THE DANGER OF FREEDOM"

The sixth in the notable radio series, "The Jeffersonian Heritage", will be heard -- (date) -- over Radio Station -- (name) -- at -- (time) --. An Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, the new dramatization is entitled "The Danger of Freedom".

As in previous broadcasts in the "Heritage" series, the famous screen actor Claude Rains is heard as Thomas Jefferson. This episode explores freedom of the mind -- freedom for those who disagree with us, as well as those who agree. The sketch is written by Morton Wishengrad from material based on the research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University.

Frank Papp produced and directed the work with music composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky. Music and song are interwoven throughout the dialogue to give brilliance and emphasis to the most impressive passages.

A man's conscience, Thomas Jefferson tells some callers in the new episode, cannot be the captive of legislators or governments or the conventions of bigotry. There are rights, he says, which it is useless to surrender to governments and to legislatures and which governments and legislatures are always found to invade. These rights he described as those of thinking, of publishing our thoughts by speaking and writing, and of free intellectual commerce.

"I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility over every form of tyranny over the mind of man," Jefferson proclaims. "I have pledged upon the altar of God the homage of reason, the pure and holy and everlasting struggle against the disease of ignorance and the festering corruptions of bigotry."

FROM: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

EQUAL JUSTICE UNDER LAW THEME OF
WXXX'S SPECIAL PROGRAM

Thomas Jefferson's support of fair play in the courts, illustrated negatively by unfairness of political trials at the end of the Eighteenth Century and positively by a flashback to the defense of British soldiers by John Adams after the Boston Massacre, is highlighted in "The Ground of Justice", seventh in the distinguished series of radio broadcasts on "The Jeffersonian Heritage".

With Claude Rains, the distinguished screen actor, portraying Jefferson, the new episode will be presented -- (date) -- over Radio Station -- (name) -- at -- (time) --. The entire series is an Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

Morton Wishengrad is the author of this newest broadcast of the series in which Jefferson, as narrator, will not let history forget that John Adams set principle above preference in defending, on moral grounds of right and wrong, sworn enemies of his country. Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University, provided research, writings and advice to make the story historically accurate and authentic.

Vladimir Selinsky has composed the music and conducted the score, again with a view toward integrating the dialogue and giving emphasis to the more significant dramatizations. Frank Papp produced and directed the episode.

"The law is reason free from passion," Jefferson says at a high emotional point in his narration of John Adams' defense of the Redcoats. "The law is light in the darkening world. The law is the commandment of God.

"Ye shall have but one manner of law, as well for the stranger, as for one of your own country. The law is open and the law is good if a man but use it lawfully." The law is truth."

FROM: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

FREEDOM OF ENTERPRISE EMPHASIZED ON
BROADCAST BY STATION WXXX

Freedom of economic enterprise, insofar as Thomas Jefferson dealt with that problem, is explored in entertaining and vibrant fashion for the radio listener in "Freedom to Work", eighth in the distinguished series on "The Jeffersonian Heritage", produced as an Adult Education Project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

With Claude Rains, the well-known actor of the motion picture screen taking the part of Thomas Jefferson, the newest in the "Heritage" series will be heard -- (date) -- at -- (time) -- over Radio Station -- (name) --.

The main emphasis in the eighth episode of the Jefferson series is on Jefferson's land reforms and the idea of economic opportunity for all human beings. Preeminently Jefferson was an apostle of freedom, and economic freedom was no exception to his credo. Although Jefferson was more realistic than many have supposed, the road to happiness for all sorts and conditions of men was harder than he thought. Here and there throughout the statesman's writings is evidence -- much of it highlighted in this broadcast -- that economic freedom was basic among the rights of man.

Wladimir Selinsky has composed and conducted the music for the score of "Freedom to Work", as usual using musical interpretation to give emphasis to pertinent spoken passages of the work and to help separate ideas. Frank Papp was the producer and director.

The narrative is based on the research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University.

FROM: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS SUBJECT OF
BROADCAST ON WXXX

Thomas Jefferson always championed a free press in this country, even when, much to his disillusionment, the vituperation of the Fourth Estate was poured upon him when he was President. Just how much the statesman believed that newspapers should have free rein to express their opinions is brought out in "Freedom of the Press", soon to be heard by radio listeners in this area.

Ninth in the notable series on "The Jeffersonian Heritage" an Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, "Freedom of the Press" will be heard -- (date) -- at -- (time) -- over Radio Station -- (name) --.

As in the other broadcasts in the series, Claude Rains, star of the screen, will portray Thomas Jefferson. The episode has been produced and directed by Frank Papp, with the musical score composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky. Mr. Selinsky is no stranger to television viewers and radio listeners as he has provided musical backgrounds for many shows in both media.

The script has been based on research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University, a noted authority on Jefferson.

Throughout the story of this ninth episode in the "Heritage" series, the values and abuses of a free press are portrayed dramatically.

"The free press and what it meant in Jefferson's time is something that cannot fail to be of interest to us today," Seymour N. Siegel, President of NABE, declared in commenting on the subject. "We have observed the subsidized press in the intellectual darkness of dictator countries and we realize how destitute we would be of any real freedom in any field if the freedom of press in our own country were to be lost. I am sure no one will want to miss this broadcast."

FROM: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES PROJECTED BY
THOMAS JEFFERSON IN BROADCAST OVER RADIO STATION WXXX

The story of how Thomas Jefferson, in his later years, fought for universal public education through sponsorship of his bill for "The More General Diffusion of Knowledge" is outlined in "The University of the United States", tenth in the distinguished radio broadcast series on "The Jeffersonian Heritage".

The new Jefferson episode, which illustrates the founding of the University of Virginia and dwells on the application of selective tests in higher education, will be heard -- (date) -- over Radio Station -- (name) -- at -- (time) --. Starring the noted picture actor, Claude Rains, as Thomas Jefferson, the broadcast is an Adult Education Project of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

With the "Heritage" series now more than two-thirds through its total number of thirteen broadcasts, Seymour N. Siegel, President of the NAEB, described the reaction of radio listeners to the Jefferson episodes as "little short of sensational". Reception of the series, Mr. Siegel said, had proved the very great need for mature, well-thought out, yet entertaining programs such as NAEB sponsors.

"The University of the United States" was written by Milton Geiger on the basis of research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone Professor of History at Columbia University. With music composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky, it was produced and directed by Frank Papp.

"Education is a proper function of government", Jefferson will say in the new episode while defending his Bill for the diffusion of knowledge. "Education of all of the people up to a point is necessary to safeguard their freedom and happiness. The education of persons of native ability to the highest degree is necessary to provide leaders and advance knowledge. These should be selected on the grounds of talent and virtue wholly without reservations of wealth and birth. On that trinity I found my philosophy of education."

FROM: RADIO STATION WXXX

Address

Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

JEFFERSON AND MADISON CORRESPONDENCE
BASIS OF BROADCAST ON RADIO STATION WXXX

In "To Secure These Rights", the eleventh broadcast in the series "The Jeffersonian Heritage", sponsored as an Adult Education Project by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, radio listeners will learn about the ultimate purposes of government as illustrated by the political association of Thomas Jefferson and James Madison during half a century.

Stirring passages of dialogue, with the Hollywood actor Claude Rains taking the part of Thomas Jefferson, highlight the emphasis that is laid throughout the new episode on the addition of a Bill of Rights to the Constitution and on the political philosophy of Jefferson's first inaugural as President of the United States.

The eleventh in the widely acclaimed "Heritage" series will be heard-- (date) -- at -- (time) -- over Radio Station -- (name) --. As in the case of the other episodes the script is based on the research, writings and advice of Dr. Dumas Malone, professor of history at Columbia University. The work of Dr. Malone, distinguished as a Jefferson scholar, not only gives authenticity to the subject material and its arrangement, but also provides a continuity to the entire series.

Frank Papp has provided the production and direction. The musical score has been conducted and composed by Wladimir Selinsky.

In ideology, "To Secure These Rights" begins with the flaming phrases of the Declaration of Independence and ends with the observation of Thomas Jefferson, in his extreme old age: "Nothing is unchangeable but the inherent and inalienable rights of man."

FROM: Radio Station WXXX
Address
Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

JEFFERSON-ADAMS FAMOUS CORRESPONDENCE DRAMATIZED
OVER STATION WXXX

In "Nature's Most Precious Gift", the twelfth and next-to-last broadcast in the Adult Education Project series on "The Jeffersonian Heritage", presented by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, there is dramatized the natural aristocracy of talent and virtue highlighted by the friendship between Thomas Jefferson and John Adams.

With the celebrated motion-picture star, Claude Rains, again in the role of Jefferson, the new episode will be heard -- (date) -- over Radio Station -- (name) -- at -- (time) --. The script, written by Milton Geiger, is based on research, advice and writings of Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University.

Music composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky again is adroitly employed not only to give a melodic background to the spoken words, but also to "bridge over" from one thought to another to heighten dramatic effect. Frank Papp produced and directed the broadcast.

Throughout the script of the new episode the famous Jefferson-Adams friendship is discussed by them in their correspondence of old age. The program ends with the death of both men on July 4, 1826.

In one of his letters to his friend Adams, Jefferson writes:

"There is a natural aristocracy among men ... The grounds of this aristocracy are virtue and talents -- There is also an artificial aristocracy founded on wealth or birth without either virtue or talents. The natural aristocracy I consider as the most precious gift of nature ... The artificial aristocracy is a mischievous ingredient in government and provision should be made to prevent its ascendancy."

And Adams said in reply to this"

"Your distinction between natural and artificial aristocracy does not seem to me well-founded. Birth and wealth are conferred on some men as imperiously by nature as genius, strength or beauty. When aristocracies are established by human laws, and honor, wealth and power are made hereditary, then I acknowledge artificial aristocracy to commence."

FROM: Radio Station WXXX

Address

Telephone

(Date of Release Issuance)

FOR RELEASE: (DATE)

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR DISCUSSES
THOMAS JEFFERSON ON RADIO STATION WXXX

For the past twelve weeks, Radio Station --(name) -- has been privileged to present a thoroughly mature and adult, yet entertaining, historical radio broadcast series on "The Jeffersonian Heritage". The series has dramatized Thomas Jefferson's principal acts and his views on politics, philosophy, education, liberty, revolution and a variety of other issues and realities that helped to make this nation great.

On -- (date) -- at -- (time) -- Radio Station -- (name) --, will present a summing up of the entire series, "What the Jeffersonian Heritage Means Today", by Dr. Dumas Malone, Professor of History at Columbia University, upon whose research, writings and advice the entire Jefferson series has been based.

Dr. Malone is thoroughly qualified to explain the significance of the series, and do it in a lively and entertaining manner, because in the amassing of his material he has thought Jefferson's thoughts and thoroughly immersed himself in the writings and expressions of philosophy in which Jefferson translated himself to his fellow-man, not only of his own era, but of all eras.

When the distinguished motion-picture actor, Claude Rains, was speaking the lines ascribed to Thomas Jefferson, he actually was Jefferson. Dr. Malone provided the raw material to make him so, while Milton Geiger and Morton Wishengrad wrote the lines that made Jefferson come alive again. Frank Papp produced and directed the series, with music composed and conducted by Wladimir Selinsky.

All of the episodes have been authentic in historical spirit and imaginative in form. Against a background of some of the most inspirational chapters of our nation's story, the programs have sought to dramatize ideas which are the enduring possessions of all Americans, all free peoples.

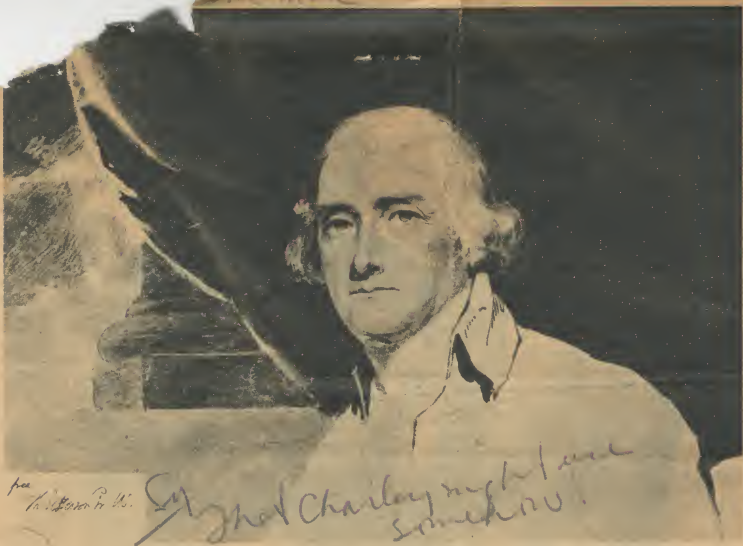


Illustration from "Thomas Jefferson." Courtesy The New York Historical Society.
Jefferson. A water-color portrait by Robert Field.

Jefferson's Steadily Rising Star

THOMAS JEFFERSON: A Biography.
By Nathan Schachner. Illustrated.
1,070 pp. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts. Two volumes, boxed.
\$12 the set.

By ADRIENNE KOCH

THE star of Thomas Jefferson continues to rise. Americans, made conscious in this generation of the real and potent danger of tyranny and totalitarianism, turned in the Thirties, with the logic of self-interest, to the inspiration and works of the finest democratic mind in this nation's history. What began there in the way of fresh studies of Jefferson's mind and his "lengthening shadow" of democratic influence, was keyed to new majesty with the preparation of the full writings of Thomas Jefferson.

"The Papers of Thomas Jefferson," four volumes of which have already appeared, is conceived on the grand scale of fifty-two volumes. At the same time, Dumas Malone's comprehensive five-volume biography (the second volume was published in October) is breaking new ground, departing from accepted myths and distortions about its complex and ever-fascinating subject. It is hardly surprising, in this atmosphere of recrudescence democratic theory, that even those who originally gave their hearts to Hamilton experience some historic impatience with the specialized contribution of that important figure, and seek broader vistas such as Jefferson, the humanist, can provide.

Nathan Schachner, whose interest in history is combined with journalistic talents and training, has to his credit (among other works) two previous biographies of American

statesmen: "Alexander Hamilton" and "Aaron Burr." Perhaps his Hamilton, once warmed by the author's obvious admiration, has been superseded in his affections (since men do change) by the man whom Hamilton detested—a solid hatred that was sincerely reciprocated by Jefferson.

Another approach to understanding Mr. Schachner's program of work may be connected with the tough problem of biographical writing. To make the subject of a biography attractive, how far should an author go in coalescing his viewpoint sympathetically with that of his protagonist in the narrative? It is difficult, on the basis of these biographies of two arch enemies, to decide whether Mr. Schachner, once a Hamiltonian, is now a Jeffersonian; or whether this last study represents his core of political beliefs, while the earlier one was a conscientious work of writing a biography for which there was market and need.

*One should not infer that the assumption behind these remarks is that the modern American democrat must limit himself either to Hamilton's inspiration or to Jefferson's—but not both. On the contrary, we are all inheritors of the good works of both men. The question at issue is how, in the sharp and explicit conflicts of Jefferson and Hamilton, the same author can present both men as champions, implicitly conceding that each one is right.

IN any event, Mr. Schachner's account, while not an original study or an independent appraisal, is a story clearly told. The reader is invited to follow Jefferson from his light-hearted youth, through his early maturity as author of the Declaration of Independence, to his reign as

President, and his busy retirement. Mr. Schachner borrows heavily from the impressive literature—both biographical and intellectual history—that already exists on Jefferson, and he brings, in addition, a respectable knowledge of valuable primary manuscript sources.

Since these two handsome volumes are more comprehensive than any previous biography in the twentieth century (Randall's larger "Life of Jefferson" belonging, in more than the chronological sense, to the nineteenth century) they will surely earn themselves a considerable reading public. They will not, however, satisfy students of Jefferson with anything approaching the degree of intellectual satisfaction that Dumas Malone's "Jefferson and His Time" is creating. In Malone's work one finds a combination of the most meticulous scholarship, the most courteous acknowledgment of debt to those who have provided materials or interpretations of Jefferson, and the most genuine maturity of judgment and interpretation—a combination that together with gracious prose promises to produce the definitive biography of Jefferson for our century....

INDEED, in our time when so much has been done on the subject of this biography, it is a legitimate expectation that the reader of a new study will encounter not only a well-written chronological account of Jefferson's life but an illumination of the areas of his personality and career that were hitherto marshy, imperfectly known, or downright obscure. This expectation is not entirely appeased by Mr. Schachner's study.

To give examples: We need better knowledge about the bookish and intellectual influ-

Miss Koch is the author of "Jefferson and Madison: The Great Collaboration."

(Continued on Page 38.)

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS
PRESENTS
A DISTINGUISHED CREATIVE SERIES OF RADIO PROGRAMS ON
"THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE"
BASED ON THE RESEARCH, WRITINGS AND ADVICE OF
PROFESSOR DUMAS MALONE
OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

PRODUCED AND DIRECTED BY

FRANK PAPP

WRITTEN BY

MORTON WISHENGRAD AND MILTON GEIGER

WITH MUSIC COMPOSED AND CONDUCTED BY

VLADIMIR SELINSKY

AND STARRING

M R. CLAUDE R A I N S

Broadcast Over the
EDUCATIONAL RADIO STATIONS OF AMERICA

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters, incorporated as a non-profit organization, is composed of institutions, school systems, groups and individuals who are engaged in non-commercial educational broadcasting through their own institutionally-owned AM, FM or Television stations, or through the facilities of commercial stations.

"The Jeffersonian Heritage" is produced by the NAEB under the terms of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education, established by the Ford Foundation. The Grant was administered by Mr. Ralph Lowell at the direction of the Adult Education Committee of NAEB, consisting of George Probst, Director, University of Chicago Roundtable, Chairman; Richard B. Hull, Director of Station WOI-AM-FM-TV, Iowa State College; H. B. McCarty, Director of Station WHA and the Wisconsin State Network; Seymour N. Siegel, Director of Station WNYC, City of New York; Parker Wheatley, Director of Station WGBH, Boston.

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(On the mailing page there should be a box for an overprint which would read, for example, "In New York City, "The Jeffersonian Heritage" is heard on New York City's Own Stations, WNYC 830 kc and WNYC-FM 93.9 megs, on Sundays, at 4:00 p.m.)

Look for time and date of the presentation of "People Under Communism", a study of the weaknesses and strengths, the purposes and intentions, of the Soviet Union. Presented under the guidance of the foremost scholars and authorities of the U.S.S.R.

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Beginning September 14th, the National Association of Educational Broadcasters will present, on the educational radio stations of America, a distinguished, creative series of radio programs on "The Jeffersonian Heritage".

This series of programs will seek to explore the enduring ideas that are best summed up in our Declaration of Independence, and best symbolized by Thomas Jefferson as an individual.

The programs will seek to translate into living terms, the principal features of the American heritage, as passed down from Thomas Jefferson through a national history richly endowed with his ideas. These features are seen as: -- one rich fair land offering vast opportunities; one diverse people melded into a national unit; one background of knowledge and skills, inherited from the mass races of our ancestry and lastly, the new, tireless and universal ideas of a new land.

For the first time in America we have been able to harness the intelligence of noted scholars in the production of a series of radio programs. "The Jeffersonian Heritage" is based on the research, writings and advice of Professor Dumas Malone of the Department of History of Columbia University, and stars Mr. Claude Rains as Thomas Jefferson.

I hope there is some manner in which you will be able to hear some of these programs on the educational radio station in your community. Your comments on this type of adult, mature and literate radio broadcasting would be sincerely appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Seymour N. Siegel

Seymour N. Siegel
President

IF DESIRED).

MP549FES 17

~~See HELL~~

gce
file

AF156

ATTENTION STATION MANAGERS

(FOR USE AFTER 7PM EST)

WASHINGTON -- THE JOINT COUNCIL ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION ANNOUNCED TODAY THE FORD FOUNDATION HAS MADE GRANTS TOTALING NEARLY 6 1/2(0) MILLION DOLLARS IN SUPPORT OF EDUCATIONAL TV.

THE FOUNDATION MADE THE LARGEST OF 3 GRANTS, FOR \$6,263,340 AND ANOTHER FOR \$90,500, TO THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION AND RADIO CENTER, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN. A GRANT FOR \$140,000 WENT TO THE COUNCIL, WHICH HAS HEADQUARTERS IN WASHINGTON.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE GRANTS WAS MADE SIMULTANEOUSLY BY BOARD CHAIRMAN ALBERT N. JORGENSEN OF THE COUNCIL AND AT ANN ARBOR BY RALPH LOWELL, BOARD CHAIRMAN OF THE CENTER.

THE LARGER GRANT TO THE CENTER IS FOR OPERATIONS FROM 1957 (CORRECT) THROUGH 1959. THE CENTER NOW PROVIDES 5 HOURS OF FILMED TELEVISION SHOWS TO THE NATION'S EDUCATIONAL STATIONS. IT ESTIMATES THE GRANT WILL PERMIT IT TO DOUBLE THIS PRODUCTION AND AT THE SAME TIME TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF BOTH ITS TV AND RADIO PRODUCTIONS.

THE OTHER GRANT TO THE CENTER IS TO FINANCE TRANSFER TO IT OF CERTAIN ACTIVITIES NOW CARRIED ON BY THE NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION. THESE ACTIVITIES INVOLVE PUBLIC RELATIONS FOR THE EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION MOVEMENT.

THE \$140,000 GRANT TO THE COUNCIL IS FOR ITS OPERATING EXPENSES IN 1956. THE COUNCIL'S PRIMARY JOB IS TO SEE THAT TV AND RADIO CHANNELS RESERVED BY THE FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION FOR EDUCATIONAL USE ARE KEPT IN THAT CLASS, AND TO WORK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF

EDUCATIONAL USE ARE KEPT IN THAT CLASS, AND TO WORK FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STATIONS TO USE THEM.

THE CENTER IS ONE OF 10 ORGANIZATIONS THAT ARE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL. RALPH STEETLE, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE COUNCIL, SAID TODAY IT IS EXPECTED THE NATIONAL CITIZENS COMMITTEE AND OTHER LAY GROUPS WILL SOON BECOME MEMBERS ALSO.

MP555FES 17

HJS

herwith, copy of TV script of JEFF.....
keeping one....sending one to Center....and one
to Wisc where research on same goes on...

fes

10-10-56

"THE INDEPENDENT MR. JEFFERSON"

by

Morton Wishengrad
and
Robert Hartman

Edited and supervised by George Probst

TV SCRIPT
Fourth Draft
April 28, 1953

1
2 -2- REVISED

3 OVER BLACK, BURNING TAPER IS TOUCHED
4 TO CANDLE IN COLONIAL HOLDER

5 JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

6 How much better to light a candle than
7 to curse the darkness!

8 MUSIC IN AND UNDER FOR BG

9 JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

10 In the spring of 1776, I worked for
11 seventeen days on a document.

12 DISSOLVE TO TITLE PAGE OF DECLARATION
13 OF INDEPENDENCE. DISSOLVE TO LAST
14 PAGE. PAN DOWN SHOWING SIGNATURES
15 OF JOHN HANCOCK

16 SAMUEL CHASE

17 WM. PACA

18 THOS. STONE

19 CHARLES CARROLL

20 GEORGE WYTHE

21 RICHARD HENRY LEE

22 JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

23 During those days I drafted the

24 Declaration of Independence.

25 DISSOLVE TO CANDLE IN CANDLE HOLDER,
26 DOCUMENT AND JEFFERSON'S HAND WRITING
27 T. H. JEFFERSON

28 MUSIC: SIGNATURE

ANNCR

(OVER FLIP: THE INDEPENDENT MR. JEFFERSON)

The National Association of Educational

Broadcasters, in cooperation with NBC

presents "THE INDEPENDENT MR. JEFFERSON" --

starring William Prince as Thomas Jefferson.

MUSIC: UP AND DOWN

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

It was a time of suspense, debate and danger, for the colonists were divided into three parts: Tories, Neutrals, and Patriots. I had no idea what the following days would bring when, on a bright May morning, I arrived at a new brick house on the corner of Market and Seventh Streets in Philadelphia.

FADE OUT SIGNATURE
FADE IN DOORWAY OF GRAFF HOUSE, A WINDOW ON EITHER SIDE, AND BELOW EACH WINDOW A WINDOW BOX WITH MAY FLOWERS. JEFFERSON WALKS ONTO SET CARRYING A WRITING BOX AND A VIOLIN CASE. SETS DOWN VIOLIN CASE AND KNOCKS. HE LOOKS AROUND. FINALLY SETS DOWN WRITING BOX, TOO. DOOR OPENS. MARY GRAFF, A PLEASANT YOUNG WOMAN, STANDS IN DOORWAY WITH WATER PITCHER AND WOODEN TRIPK,

JEFFERSON

Is this the house of Jacob Graff, the bricklayer?

MARY

Yes it is. My husband is not home.

JEFFERSON

I was told you might have a parlor and bedroom to let. I seek lodgings.

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MARY

Who are you?

JEFFERSON

My name is Thomas Jefferson.

MARY

And who are you, Mr. Jefferson?

JEFFERSON

I am a delegate to the Second Continental

Congress, meeting here in Philadelphia.

MARY

And your business here?

JEFFERSON

(WRYLY) To promote rebellion.

MARY

Then there is sure to be a price on your

head. Why should we take you in?

JEFFERSON

Because American farmers lie dead at

Lexington and Concord.

CU MARY. SHE TOUCHES EARTH IN WINDOW
BOX, LOOKS AT HER FINGER.

MARY

Yes -- that's true enough

JEFFERSON

And across the ocean a British king

sits fat and pampered on his throne.

1

2 MARY SMILES AND WATERS THE SOIL IN
THE WINDOW BOX.

3 MARY

4 What do you know of the British king--
5 or any king?

6 JEFFERSON

7 I know the livestock on my farm.

8 MARY CROSSES TO OTHER WINDOW BOX
AND BEGINS TO LOOSEN THE SOIL.

9 JEFFERSON (CONT'D)

10 Take any race of animals. Inbreed
11 them. Confine them in idleness. Pamper
12 them with high diet. Gratify all their
13 appetites. Nourish their passions, let
14 everything bend before them, and banish
15 whatever might lead them to think. And in
16 a few generations--

17 MARY

18 (LOOKING UP, AMUSED)

19 Yes?

20 JEFFERSON

21 They become all body and no mind.

22 Like George III.

23 MARY

24 (SHE LAUGHS) That is amusing,
25 certainly. (SHE TAKES THE WATER
26 PITCHER FROM HIM AND GOES TO THE DOOR)

27 MARY

28 (SOME SURPRISE) Is that not a violin

1 MARY (CONT'D) -6-
2 case?
3 JEFFERSON
4 Yes, I have left my less precious baggage
5 behind for my servant to bring on..
6 MARY
7 (SMILES) A violin case is strange
8 baggage for a maker of rebellion.
9 JEFFERSON
10 Perhaps.
11 MARY
12 Mr. Jefferson, I do have lodgings....Sir.
13 (SHE HESITATES, EXAMINING HIM AGAIN)
14 Sir --- (PRACTICALLY---Please be good enough to wipe your
15 feet. I will show you the rooms.
16 MARY EXITS TO STAIRWAY. JEFFERSON FOLLOWS
17 BUT RETURNS, PICKS UP WRITING BOX, EXITS
18 AGAIN. FADE OUT.
19 FADE IN: MARY ENTERING UPSTAIRS
20 PARLOR. JEFFERSON FOLLOWS HER,
21 LOOKING AROUND.
22 MARY
23 Now - that was the bedroom. And here,
24 across the hall is the parlor.
25 JEFFERSON
26 Yes. (PLEASED) Yes. My writing box
27 could go on the table here.
28 The light is good.
29 HE GOES TO WINDOW AND PLACES BOX,
30 UNOPENED ON TABLE.
31
32

1 MARY

2 Your writing box. Yes, the light is best
3 on your side of the house.

4 MARY WALKS ABOUT THE ROOM TOUCHING
THINGS IN HOUSEKEEPERLY FASHION.

5

JEFFERSON
6 Mistress Graff -- I like these rooms.

7 They are what I have been looking for.

8 SOUND: DOOR SLAMS OFF

9 MARY

10 That is my husband coming in, Mr. Jefferson.

11 I don't know what he'll say....I will

12 bring him up.

13 SHE EXITS

14 JEFFERSON LOOKS ABOUT ROOM. HE GOES TO
WRITING BOX, OPENS IT. HE TAKES OUT HIS
15 NOTEBOOK, OPENS IT. TESTS THE LIGHT
OVER HIS SHOULDER FROM WINDOW.

16

SOUND: FOOTSTEPS APPROACHING ROOM

17

MARY GRAFF AND JACOB ENTER. JACOB IS NOT
18 IMPOLITE, BUT HE IS QUIET AND RATHER
CAUTIOUS.

19

MARY

20 Mr. Jefferson, this is my husband, Jacob
Graff.

21

JEFFERSON

22 Good Morning, Mr. Graff.

23

JACOB

24 Mr. Jefferson, sir.

25 Mary tells me that you wish to stay here,

26 Mr. Jefferson. She also tells me that

27 your business is rebellion.

28 JEFFERSON NODS.

1

2

JACOB

3 There are tories in this neighborhood.

4

I want no trouble.

5

JEFFERSON

6 Do you like kings, Mr. Graff?

7

JACOB

8

No.

9

JEFFERSON

10 Are some of your best friends

11 revolutionaries?

12

JACOB

13 (HESITATES) Ah...yes.

14

MARY

15 (TO JACOB) He has not told us whether

16 he is a man of good habits (TO JEFFERSON)

17 Are you temperate?

18

JEFFERSON

19 I drink wine, but no ardent spirits.

20

MARY

21 You use tobacco?

22

JEFFERSON

23 I do not, Madam.

24

MARY

25 You are gluttonous, then.

26

JEFFERSON

27 I do not think so. Vegetables

28 constitute my principle diet...and

(MORE)

1

2 JEFFERSON (CONT'D)

3 each morning I rise at dawn and bathe

4 my feet in cold water.

5 MARY

6 (DISAPPOINTED) Oh.

7 JEFFERSON

8 Is there anything else?

9 MARY

10 Do you believe in God?

11 JEFFERSON

12 Mrs. Graff...do you so cross-examine everyone who

13 knocks on your door?

14 MARY

15 These are not ordinary times.

16 GRAFF

17 Do you believe in God?

18 JEFFERSON

19 Surely, this is a matter between God and

20 me.

21 GRAFF

22 (NOT AGREEING) What is your denomination?

23 JEFFERSON

24 Very well, Mr. Graff. I have no formal

25 creed. I belong to no party, neither

26 political, religious, philosophical. If

27 I could not go to heaven but with a party,

28 I would not go there at all.

1

2

MARY

3

Be careful, Mr. Jefferson -- you risk

4

damnation!

5

JEFFERSON

6

No, Mrs. Graff. I believe that God

7

approves the open homage of reason rather

8

than the blindfolded homage of fear and

9

superstition. I can only say to you that

10

I believe in God and have faith in reason.

11

MARY

12

(SHE IS HALF WON) Is that enough, Jacob?

13

JACOB

14

(IGNORES THE QUESTION) What furnishings

15

would you be moving in? I would not want

16

the appearance of the rooms changed.

17

JEFFERSON

18

I would bring very little with me.

19

My violin -- my writing box -- John Locke,

20

John Milton, Sir Isaac Newton.

21

MARY

22

(ALARMED) Mr. Jefferson, sir -- the

23

parlor and bedroom are for a single

24

gentleman. I cannot give lodging to

25

a whole company.

26

JEFFERSON

27

What man alive is not a whole company?

28

I am my grandfather's prejudice, my father's

(MORE)

JEFFERSON CONT'D

creed, my own dissent from each.

(MARY AND JACOB EXCHANGE PUZZLED GLANCES)

JEFFERSON

Mistress Graff, would you care to examine
a part of my baggage? (SMILING) The company
I speak of resides in this book.

HE FETCHES THE BOOK FROM THE WRITING BOX

MARY

(IN WONDERMENT) It's only a notebook.

JEFFERSON EXTENDS BOOK TO JACOB, WHO
TAKES IT AND GOES TO WINDOW FOR GOOD
LIGHT.

JACOB

(READING) "If for the people to have a
king is pleaded as an Act of God --"

"--why ~~xxxxx~~ should not the people's

rejection of a king be pleaded also as

an act of God?" JEFFERSON -- John Milton,

blind poet (GLANCES ACROSS TO THE NOTEBOOK'S

FACING PAGE) "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to
God."

JEFFERSON

My motto.

SOUND: DOORBELL RINGS OFF

MARY

Excuse me. (SHE EXITS)

JACOB

(READING) "The state of nature has a law to govern it, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind that, being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions."

JEFFERSON

This is the sort of baggage I bring.

MARY ENTERS, FOLLOWED BY BOB, CARRYING TWO BAGS.

MARY

It's your servant.

JEFFERSON

Thank you, Bob. You can put them down for the moment.

BOB PUTS BAGS DOWN. HE SEES WRITING BOX. POINTS TO IT.

BOB

The note you left, it said jes' to bring these two bags. I see you fetched the writin' box, Mr. Jefferson. I was worried I had missed it.

MARY

(AMAZED) A note! You can read?

BOB

(SMILES DELIGHTEDLY) Yes, ma'am. I can Mr. Jefferson, he saw I was taught to read.

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MARY

(INQUISITIVE, MOTHERLY) How long have
you been with Mr. Jefferson, Bob?

BOB

Since I was born, Ma'am. He treats his
people very good, Mr. Jefferson does.

JEFFERSON SMILES AT THIS, BUT SAYS
NOTHING. MARY LOOKS AT JACOB TO SEE IF
THIS POINT HAS GONE HOME WITH HIM.

BOB

I got a carriage below, master. Shall I
tell it to go, or stay?

JEFFERSON

Go and wait in it, Bob.

BOB

(EXITS, BOWING, SMILING) Yes, master.

JEFFERSON

If you will hand me my notebook, Mr. Graff....

GRAFF GIVES BOOK TO JEFFERSON

JEFFERSON

(READS) "Man is born free and is every-
where in chains."

HE LOOKS UP AT THEM.

MARY

It is a riddle.

JEFFERSON

NODE

JACOB

And will you solve your riddle here in this house?

JEFFERSON

It is a riddle never solved. But I would try to make a beginning here, in this city -- in this room, if you will.

JACOB

Mary, we have a lodger. Open your writing box, Mr. Jefferson. You are welcome in these rooms.

JEFFERSON GOES TO WRITING BOX AND OPENS IT.

MUSIC: QUIET. FIRM INTERLUDE AND UNDER

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

And so it was that I came to the home of Jacob and Mary Graff. (DOLLY FOR CU OF WRITING BOX) I was alone with the baggage of my inheritance. The legacy of Locke and Newton and Milton transported to the home of a Philadelphia bricklayer, the child of immigrants -- a good house in which to compose an American declaration.

FADE TO BLACK DURING ABOVE

A few days later.....

CU OF WRITING BOX, TOP CLOSED, HAND WRITING "JUNE 7, 1776." Then DOLLY BACK TO SHOW JEFFERSON WRITING AT TABLE.

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

June 7, 1776. Today the delegates from Virginia moved that the Congress should declare that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, Free and Independent States.

1

2 MUSIC: OUT

3 SOUND: KNOCK ON DOOR

4 JEFFERSON LOOKS UP FROM WRITING

5 JEFFERSON

6 Yes? Come in.

7 DOOR OPENS AND MARY ENTERS

8 MARY

9 Mr. Jefferson, there is a Mr. John

10 Dickinson below. He is a member of the

11 Second Continental Congress, he says. He

12 seems very excited.....

13 JEFFERSON

14 Please ask him to come up, Mrs. Graff.

15 MARY EXITS. JEFFERSON PASSES HIS HANDS
16 ACROSS HIS EYES IN A WEARY MOVEMENT. GOES
17 TO OPEN VIOLIN CASE ON FIREPLACE MANTEL. PICKS
UP VIOLIN. PLUCKS AT STRINGS IDLY, LISTENING.
DICKINSON APPEARS IN DOORWAY.

18 DICKINSON

19 Jefferson.....(HE IS QUICK SPOKEN, QUICK

20 TEMPERED. AT THIS MOMENT HE IS EXCITED)

21 JEFFERSON PUTS VIOLIN BACK IN CASE.

22 JEFFERSON

23 Come in, Dickinson.

24 DICKINSON

25 I tried to get to you after Congress

26 adjourned today, but you had disappeared.

27 Jefferson, the resolution of the Virginia

28 delegates..it is treason!

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JEFFERSON

Indeed!

DICKINSON

You must prevent the adoption of the
resolution. Tomorrow morning in Congress,
when the debate begins, you must....

JEFFERSON

Why, Dickinson? I believe in the
resolution.

DICKINSON

You believe in a lie!

JEFFERSON PLUCKS AT A STRING OF THE VIOLIN

JEFFERSON

As you wish.

DICKINSON

You believe in parricide.

JEFFERSON

If you say so.

DICKINSON

We must not dissolve the bond with
the mother country. Do you hear me?

JEFFERSON

Distinctly.

DICKINSON

Then argue with me! Tell me I am
wrong. Call me Tory, if you will.
But answer me.

JEFFERSON

Doctor Benjamin Franklin has given me
as his invariable rule never to contradict
anyone. I am no Don Quixote to bring
all men by force of argument to one
opinion. Each man has the inalienable
right to be wrong.

DICKINSON TURNS FURIOUSLY AWAY.

DICKINSON

There are men in Congress who would
smash your face for saying that!

JEFFERSON

That might alter my face, but not my
opinion.

HE FACES JEFFERSON

DICKINSON

Jefferson, listen -- the Colonies and
the crown must not separate. We are
Englishmen, Jefferson. There is no such
thing as an American. There never was.
There never will be. I warn you! The
resolution must not be adopted. I warn you!
HE STORMS OUT.

JEFFERSON GIVES THE VIOLIN STRING A LAST
PLUNK. PUTS IT IN CASE. GOES TO WRITING
BOX. TAKES UP PEN. DOLLY IN FOR CU BOX

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

1 (Jefferson recorded) -18-

2 It was not the only warning I had. Warnings
3 came from all sides. And argument! The issue
4 was debated in Congress on Saturday, June 8 --
5 on Monday, June 10 -- and then on Tuesday, June 11--.

6 CUT TO DOWNSTAIRS ROOM OF GRAFTS. JACOB IS
7 READING. MARY IS SEWING

8 SOUND: DOOR SLAMS
9 JEFFERSON ENTERS HALLWAY, LOOKS NEITHER
10 RIGHT NOR LEFT, BUT RUSHES UPSTAIRS.
11 MARY

12 Good evening, Mr. Jefferson

13 JACOB

14 Good evening, sir.

15 MARY LOOKS AT JACOB. GETS UP AND
16 GOES TO HALLWAY AND LOOKS UP.

17 MARY

18 (QUESTIONING) Mr. Jefferson --?

19 MARY COMES BACK INTO ROOM.

20 MARY

21 (TO JACOB) What can be wrong? I

22 wonder what has happened?

23 CUT TO JEFFERSON ENTERING HIS PARLOR.
24 HE GOES TO WRITING BOX, TAKES OUT BIBLE,
25 CLOSES HIS EYES AND STANDS WITH HAND
26 ON BIBLE FOR A MOMENT.

27 SOUND: KNOCK ON DOOR
28 JEFFERSON

29 Yes?

30 DOOR OPENS. MARY ENTERS FOLLOWED BY
31 JACOB.

32 MARY

33 Mr. Jefferson - is something wrong?

34

JEFFERSON

No. No.....it is only that ... what
I have worked for -- (HE INCLINES TO
MARY) prayed for -- Today in Congress a
committee was appointed to prepare a
declaration of Independence.

HE SPEAKS IN A MEASURED FASHION, LISTENING
TO THE WORDS HIMSELF AS HE SAYS THEM.

MARY AND JACOB EXCHANGE LOOKS.
A committee of Dr. Benjamin Franklin,

John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert
Livingston -- and myself. And I - I
have been asked to draft the declaration.

DOLLY IN FOR CU ON BIBLE WHICH
JEFFERSON IS STILL HOLDING. HE
PUTS IT ON WRITING BOX. FADE OUT.

FADE IN ON CU HANDS ON ANOTHER BOOK.
DOLLY BACK. JEFFERSON OPENS THIS
BOOK AND PUTS IT ON TABLE. DURING
FOLLOWING RECORDED SPEECH, JEFFERSON
OPENS VARIOUS BOOKS AND LEAVES THEM
OPEN ON TABLE, CHAIRS, FLOOR. HE STOPS
TO PEER AT THEM AS HE MOVES ABOUT THE
ROOM.

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

I started out at a feverish pace. I
wanted to get everything down on paper
at once -- ALL of the ideas on freedom.
At first I thought of consulting other
books and pamphlets -- the ideas that
had flooded men's brains about freedom
and independence. But in the end, I
consulted no book -- no pamphlet....

JEFFERSON DROPS AT HIS WRITING BOX,
AND STARES AT THE PAPER BEFORE HIM. HE
LIFTS PEN AND STARTS TO WRITE RAPIDLY.

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

I determined to set before mankind the
consensus of the subject. Nothing new.
The principles written down were not
original with me. The Declaration was
intended to be an expression of the American
mind, and to give to that expression the proper
tone and spirit called for by the occasion.

JEFFERSON SIGHS: STOPS WRITING, PUTS HIS
PEN UP. HE GOES TO VIOLIN AT
FIREPLACE. STARTS TO PLAY.

CUT TO DOWNSTAIRS PARLOR.

SOUND: (MUSIC?) WE HEAR VIOLIN OFF

MR. DICKINSON IS SITTING, HAT IN HAND.
IMPATIENTLY. MARY IS ARRANGING SOME
FLOWERS IN A SMALL VASE. THEY BOTH
LOOK UP AT THE SOUND OF THE VIOLIN OFF.

MARY

Excuse me, Mr. Dickinson. I will see
about Mr. Jefferson now.

DICKINSON

(ELABORATE SARCASM) Thank you, Mrs. Graff.

MARY EXITS STAIRS. DICKINSON GRIMACES.

CUT TO UPSTAIRS PARLOR. JEFFERSON, BACK
TO CAMERA, IS PLAYING VIOLIN.

SOUND: KNOCK ON DOOR

JEFFERSON STOPS PLAYING, TURNS.

JEFFERSON

Come in.

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27

MARY ENTERS WITH VASE OF FLOWERS

MARY

I heard you playing. I thought it might
be all right to interrupt you.

JEFFERSON

Yes.

MARY

Here are some flowers to brighten the
room a bit. And Mr. Dickinson is downstairs.

JEFFERSON

(HE TOUCHES THE FLOWERS) Oh? Mr.
Dickinson, again.....

MARY

He's been waiting. I told him I couldn't
interrupt until you asked for your supper.
But when you started to play....

DICKINSON BURSTS INTO THE ROOM

DICKINSON

(FURIOUSLY) Jefferason, I meant to come
to you calmly this time -- but this waiting!
And now you are playing the violin!

JEFFERSON

(HIDING A SMILE) Please sit down,
Dickinson. Thank you, Mrs. Graff.

MARY EXITS, CLOSING DOOR

DICKINSON POINTS TO BOOKS, PAPERS,
STREWN ABOUT.

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28

DICKINSON

(GRABILY, CONTROLLED. DETERMINED TO
BE CALM) You progress with the Declaration,
I see?

JEFFERSON

Slowly.

DICKINSON

This means war.

DICKINSON GOES TO THE DESK AND PLACES
HIS FINGER ON THE PAGE JEFFERSON HAS
BEEN WRITING ON.

JEFFERSON

Yes -- but we are at war, are we not?

DICKINSON

Worse -- Revolution!

JEFFERSON PICKS UP THE PAGE TO STUDY IT
FOR A MOMENT.

JEFFERSON

As you pronounce the word, and as it is
in fact -- it is a bitter word. And yet --
force must always be left as a possibility
for the redress of grievances.

JEFFERSON PUTS THE PAGE DOWN.

DICKINSON

You speak like Sam Adams and his
Massachusetts demagogues.

JEFFERSON

For years now we have been coerced by
George the Third!! Enough years, enough

JEFFERSON CONT'D
coercion to justify our use of force!

DICKINSON

There is still time to negotiate our
differences.

JEFFERSON

How can you negotiate with someone who
will not listen?

DICKINSON

But revolution, Jeff.....

JEFFERSON

The thought of revolution is abhorrent, I
agree. But revolution means getting control of
your own affairs, and that, my friend, is not
abhorrent.

DICKINSON

(HE IS DEFEATED ONLY FOR THE MOMENT)

Very well, Jefferson. I leave you to
your spring flowers -- your violin -- and
your revolution.

INTO CU ON FLOWERS, PAN TO WRITING
BOX AND DECLARATION.

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

But Dickinson never left me. He was
was always at hand with old arguments --
new arguments. He even discovered that
it was my habit to take an early morning
walk....

CUT TO FRONT STEPS. DICKINSON IS AT
FRONT STEP. DOOR OPENS. JEFFERSON
WALKS OUT. HE SEES DICKINSON. STOPS.

1

JEFFERSON

2

3 (WEARILY) Good morning, Dickinson.

4

DICKINSON

5 (PITCHING RIGHT IN) I marvel at you!

6

JEFFERSON

7

What now?

8

DICKINSON

9 The world we have known is on fire.

10

Yet you go for a morning walk.

11

JEFFERSON

12

I always do before breakfast.

13

DICKINSON

14

Only to come back and write words of
15 dissolution as final and as irrevocable
16 as death!

17

JEFFERSON

18

Death is always a chance of life.

19

DICKINSON

20

The words you write are the wrong
21 words! War can still be resolved by
22 words of conciliation. Once your
23 declaration is finished -- only war is
24 left. And we are not colonies strong and
25 united for war -- we are divided!

26

JEFFERSON GOES TO FLOWER BOX AND
EXAMINES IT.

27

JEFFERSON

28

Division doesn't trouble me.

DICKINSON

It should. There can be no victory
without absolute and utter unity.

JEFFERSON

Only in the grave is there absolute
and utter unity. I will tell you
something, Dickinson. I am glad that
you and I disagree.

JEFFERSON TURNS TO GO BACK INTO HOUSE.

DICKINSON

Where are you going? I thought you
were going for a walk.

JEFFERSON

No. Not now.

JEFFERSON IS ABOUT TO ENTER HOUSE WHEN
BOB COMES OUT CARRYING PAIR OF MEN'S BOOTS

JEFFERSON

Good morning, Bob.

BOB NODS AND SMILES

JEFFERSON ENTERS HOUSE, FOLLOWED BY
DICKINSON. BOB LOOKS AFTER THEM, THEN
SETTLES ON STEP AND STARTS TO POLISH
BOOTS. CU ON BOOTS. DISSOLVE TO CU
ON WRITING BOX IN UPSTAIRS PARLOR.
PULL BACK TO GET TWO SHOTS OF JEFFERSON
AND DICKINSON. JEFFERSON GOES TO
WRITING BOX AND PICKS UP PAPER AND LOOKS
AT IT.

DICKINSON

(AS THOUGH HE HAD NEVER STOPPED TALKING)

What do you mean -- you are glad you and I disagree?

JEFFERSON

Difference is the healthy, living thing.
The free mind is suffocated by unanimity.

DICKINSON

In the name of Heaven, what kind of
things are you putting down on that
paper? A political declaration or a
philosophical treatise?

JEFFERSON

Both. What is important in this paper
is as much what is left unspoken as what
is said. The American colonies will
find their beginning now as a nation with
an act of revolt. So let it be.

DICKINSON HAS STARTED TO SPEAK.
JEFFERSON GESTURES WITH HIS HAND TO
SHOW HE WISHES TO SAY MORE.

DICKINSON

It shall never be so.

JEFFERSON

Tell me, sir -- what new idea does not
begin in revolt? The American people
will find thier beginning in revolt and
in diversity. Good. Let us praise diversity.

DICKINSON

You are being extremely clever.

JEFFERSON

I am curious. Would you have us the
same? Would the world be more beautiful
if our faces were alike? If all our tempers,
talents, our wishes, were cast exactly
in the same mold? What shall we build? An
America without variety? Where all are to
think alike?

BOB ENTERS HERE WITH THE BOOTS. SILENTLY
HE KNEELS, REMOVES THE BOOTS JEFFERSON
IS WEARING, PUTS ON THE CLEANED ONES.
JEFFERSON SITS AUTOMATICALLY FOR THE
PROCESS, TAKING NO NOTICE.

JEFFERSON

Let us proclaim, Dickinson,
that the enemy is tyranny over the mind
of man. Let us fire a cannon against the
jailors of all ages, the intellectual
prison-keepers, the civil magistrates, and
the religious zealots who enforce their
dogmas upon those unwilling to receive them.
Let us say to them: whose foot is to be
the measure to which ours are all to be
cut or stretched? Not my foot. Not your
foot. Not any man's foot or stamp or imprimatur!
BOB TAKES OTHER BOOTS AND EXITS SILENTLY
Dickinson, would you argue against that?

DICKINSON

(EVENLY) No, Jefferson -- but then, I am
somewhat distracted by the spectacle of your

DICKINSON CONT'D
chattel slave attending you.

JEFFERSON LOOKS DOWN AT HIS BOOTS.
SUDDENLY AWARE OF WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE.
JEFFERSON

(QUIETLY) You cannot rebuke me any more
than I rebuke myself. Bob is to be free.

DICKINSON

There are slaves other than Bob in the
Colonies. Are they also to be free?

JEFFERSON

(SPEAKING QUIETLY AND DEEPLY) Every age
spawns its own tyranny. We deal with
the tyranny of George the Third now. But
there will be a stirring of national
conscience when we will be forced to deal
with our own tyranny, -- when we will have to
stop avoiding pain, and confront the truth.

DICKINSON LOOKS AT HIM FOR A MOMENT: SEES
THAT HE IS SHUTTING OUT ALL BUT HIS OWN
THOUGHTS. DICKINSON ARISES ABRUPTLY.

DICKINSON

I am not done with you. I shall see you in
Congress.

DICKINSON EXITS. JEFFERSON GOES TO WRITING
BOX, PICKS UP PEN, AND STARTS TO WRITE.
FADE OUT.

FADE IN ON CU OF JEFFERSON WRITING "THURSDAY,
JUNE 22" AND THEN DOLLY BACK TO SHOW
JEFFERSON AT DESK WRITING.

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

Finally, on June 27, the committee approved my draft, and I was ready to report it to the Second Continental Congress on June 28. Seventeen days had passed since I had begun work on the Declaration of Independence. Those days seemed at once like an eternity and like the mere flutter of an eyelid....

FADE OUT

DISSOLVE TO CU JEFFERSON PUTTING HIS HAT ON SHELF IN ANTEROOM AT INDEPENDENCE HALL. BACK PER MEDIUM SHOT OF ROOM.

SOUND: DISTANT MURMUR OF VOICES, OFF

JEFFERSON TAKES SHEAF OF PAPERS FROM HIS POCKET AND PACES AS HE MOUTHS WORDS. THREE DELEGATES ENTER. THEY SEE JEFFERSON. THEY PUT UP THEIR HATS, AND THE FIRST TWO CONVERGE ON HIM. THE THIRD SINKS INTO CHAIR, A DUMFUSED LOOK ON HIS FACE.

FIRST MAN:

Jefferson, you must forgive us -- we know we are importunate -- but allow us a last plea before you go in there.

SECOND:

Jefferson, do not break away from the mother country. Later perhaps - but not now. George the Third may be a fool -- but the British Crown...that is something else.

JEFFERSON HOLDS UP A HAND AND SHAKES
HIS HEAD.

FIRST

We are too young. We are insufficiently
mature.

SECOND

Jefferson, there is a time to be free
and a time to be protected.

JEFFERSON

I am authorized by Congress to write
a declaration against protection.

FIRST

This is not what Congress intended!

SECOND

Write what you were asked to write,
Jeffereon.

JEFFERSON

I was asked to write a declaration of
no-dependence. To demand for the American
people responsibility over their own
affairs. There is no freedom without
responsibility. There is no freedom without
danger. To be on one's own - no one to
hold your hand -- no king - no parliament,
no legislature. Gentlemen, this is a
struggle for the right to be insecure.

SECOND

(TO FIRST) I told you there was no point
in arguing with him. Let us go into
the main hall. (TO THIRD) Are you coming?

THIRD

Presently.

THIRD RISES AND MOVES TO WINDOW, LOOKING
OUT AT TREE IN FULL LEAF.

THIRD

I apologize for my fellow delegates. There
are always some men who are constitutionally
unable to take the next step. Better
smallpox than a new idea.

JEFFERSON

(HOLDING SHEAF OF PAPERS) I have stated
here what has been said many times before.
The principles I have written down are
not original with me. The ideas are plain
and reasonable.

THIRD

Sometimes there are ideas which can be
too reasonable. Jefferson, I do not
stand here without my own axe to grind.
(HE FACES JEFFERSON) You have written a
clause having to do with the slave trade.

JEFFERSON

I have.

1

2

THIRD

3 It will have to come out.

4

JEFFERSON

5 I think you are wrong.

6

THIRD

7 From what John Adams and Dr. Franklin have
8 told me of the rest of your document, it is
9 as good a document as we have a right to
10 expect -- possibly better. Jefferson,
11 without your slave trade clause, it will
12 be an excellent document. Take it out.

13

JEFFERSON

14 (QUIETLY, FIRMLY) The clause stays in.

15

THIRD

16 Jefferson - would you endanger the entire
17 Declaration with this slave clause? Believe
18 me, sir -- the slave trade cannot be condemned.

19

JEFFERSON

20 Who says so? South Carolina? Georgia?

21 I will convince them.

22

THIRD

23 Not this year. You cannot convince me --
24 and I am a Massachusetts man.

25

JEFFERSON

26 The slave trade convicts us of
27 bestiality before the civilized world.

28

(THIRD

29 (LIGHTING HIS PIPE) It does.

JEFFERSON

I know it more than anyone -- my own hands are not clean. There are slaves in my fields at Monticello. A slave attends me here in Philadelphia -- my slave, sir. (HE CLOSED HIS EYES FOR A MOMENT) I tremble for myself and for my country when I reflect that God is just -- and that his justice cannot sleep forever.

THERE IS INK AND QUILL ON A TABLE. THIRD MOVES TOWARD IT.

THIRD

Amen and amen -- but don't say a word about the slave trade in your Declaration. Strike the words out now. (OFFERS QUILL)

JEFFERSON PUSHES THE QUILL AWAY WITH A DECISIVE GESTURE.

JEFFERSON

Would you have me a hypocrite?

THIRD

I would have you a sensible man, who realizes that only one thing can be done at a time -- that it is immoral to sacrifice things that are possible and good, in pursuit of something which is impossible now. (PROFFERS THE QUILL)

JEFFERSON

And if I did, the Declaration would pass?

THIRD

Of course.

1

2

JEFFERSON

3

You are reasonable -- moderate -- kindly --.

4

Do you always compromise with justice?

5

THIRD

6

You are a harsh man for a Virginian.

7

JEFFERSON

8

Because I worry for Virginia and for the

9

South. To see one half of our citizens

10

trample on the rights of the other half!

11

To have our children study their fathers -

12

who are masters over other human beings -

13

studying their tyranny, imitating their

14

tyranny, nursed and educated and daily

15

exercised in tyranny. Can a Declaration for

16

freedom be written and say nothing about that?--

17

Well, answer, why do you not?

18

THIRD

19

We are both in the same ugly trap --

20

North and South.

21

JEFFERSON

22

The question must be answered!

23

THIRD

24

Yes, but later.

25

New England shippers and traders make

26

their profits from the commerce in slaves.

27

One thing at a time, Jefferson. Political freedom

28

now. The rest must wait for later.

JEFFERSON

I have written a paragraph against the
slave trade for now!

THIRD

We shall vote against it -- North and
South -- and we shall break your heart.
(OFFERING THE QUILL AGAIN) Be sensible.

JEFFERSON

The Slave clause stays in.

(THIRD HAS SLOWLY RETURNED QUILL TO STAND)

It is not what you preach -- but what you do.

We dare not begin upon a compromise.

BOB HAS ENTERED, QUIETLY, CARRYING WRITING BOX.

THIRD

I'm sorry, Jefferson. This is also
painful for me. But there is no point
in saying any more.

JEFFERSON

(NODE AGREEMENT)

BOB

(STEPS FORWARD) Excuse me, Mr. Jefferson -
but Mistress Graff thought you might be
needin' your writin' box.

JEFFERSON

So I might.

JEFFERSON TAKES BOX. BOB STEPS BACK

2 THIRD

3 Well -- we shall see what happens. Are
4 you coming into the main hall now,
5 Jefferson?

6 JEFFERSON

7 In a moment.

8 THIRD

9 We'll be waiting for you.

10 THIRD EXITS

11 JEFFERSON STANDS WITH WRITING BOX
12 IN ONE HAND, SHEAF WHICH IS THE
13 DECLARATION IN THE OTHER. HE CLOSSES
14 HIS EYES FOR A MOMENT.

15 JEFFERSON

16 (MURMURING) Life, liberty, and the pursuit
17 of happiness for all men -- ALL men.

18 BOB

19 Is everythin' all right, Master?

20 JEFFERSON

21 (OPENING HIS EYES) As the delegate
22 from Massachusetts just said -- we
23 shall see.

24 JEFFERSON EXITS SLOWLY. BOB WATCHES
25 HIM GO. DOLLY IN FOR CU ON BOB'S
26 FACE. PAN TO WINDOW FOR TREE IN FULL
27 LEAF. DISSOLVE TO CU WRITING BOX IN
28 UPSTAIRS PARLOR. HAND TURNS JEFFERSON'S
29 NOTEBOOK FROM PAGE TO PAGE. IN LARGE
30 LETTERS AT TOP OF PAGES ARE "FRIDAY,
31 JUNE 28, 1776" AND THEN, AFTER SEVERAL
32 PAGES - "THURSDAY, JULY 4, 1776".

33 JEFFERSON (RECORDED OVER ABOVE)

34 On Friday, June 28 -- seventeen days after I
35 had been appointed to the work, I reported the

Jefferson recorded cont'd
Declaration of Independence to the
Congress. The debate carried through
into July, and until the evening of the
fourth day of July, and then the Declaration
was adopted. It was signed by delegates from
every state. But Mr. Dickinson did not sign.
DISSOLVE TO JEFFERSON IN UPSTAIRS
PARLOR. HE READS FROM SHEAF TO BOB
AND MARY AND JACOB GRAFF, WHO STAND
LISTENING ATTENTIVELY.

JEFFERSON

We hold these truths to be self-evident;
that all men are created equal; that they are
endowed by their creator with certain
unalienable rights; that among these are
life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.
That to secure these rights, governments
are instituted among men, deriving their
just powers from the consent of the
governed....

MUSIC UP AND UNDER FOR RC...

PULL BACK TO BEHOLD JEFFERSON AT
WRITING BOX, WORKING. THE CANDLE
IS NEAR HIM ON THE TABLE.

JEFFERSON (RECORDED)

In July, 1776, the Colonies were ready
for political independence -- and for no
more. The paragraph against slavery
had been taken out....And so we began upon a

1 Jefferson cont'd:
2 compromise. Accuse us, therefore --
3 announce our national origin attended by
4 much good, but also by some continuing
5 evil.
6 DISSOLVE TO TAPER LIGHTING CANDLE IN STAND
7 JEFFERSON (RECORDED)
8 But ask of yourself how far you have
9 traveled in one hundred and seventy-six
10 years. (SUPER FACSIMILE OF DECLARATION)
11 (PAUSE) The earth belongs always to the
12 living generation. What has your
13 generation done with the earth?
14 MUSIC: UP AND UNDER
15 CREDITS;

JEFFERSON SUNDAY, JUNE 7

ROLL TITLE: (SUPER- WHITE ON BLACK)

THOMAS JEFFERSON
WILLIAM PRINCE
MR. DICKINSON
HENRY JONES
MARY GRAFF
ROBIN HUMPHREY
JACOB GRAFF
JACK LESTER
BOB
DON JULIAN
FIRST MAN
ART PETERSON
SECOND MAN
CARL STORN
THIRD MAN
KEN NORDINE
LIGHTING BY
JOHN CASAGRANDE
TECHNICAL DIRECTOR
ED READ
SETTINGS BY
CURT NATIONS

COSTUMES
JOAN EVANS
ORIGINAL MUSIC:
VLADIMIR SELINSKY
MUSIC COORDINATOR:
LARRY JOHNSON
ORCHESTRA CONDUCTED BY:
JOSEPH GALLICHO
PRODUCTION COORDINATOR
JIM TROY
SCRIPT BY
MORTON WISHENGRAD
WITH ADDITIONAL DIALOGUE
BY ROBERT HARTMAN
BASED ON RESEARCH
OF HISTORIAN
DUMAS MALONE

Jeff

NAEB RIGHTS vs. CENTER RIGHTS

Jeffersonian Heritage: We have radio rights and one-time transcription rights. Have copyrights to scripts but not publication rights. Royalties go to authors. Jeffersonian Heritage script done on television belongs to the Center.

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People under Communism: Same as Jeffersonian Heritage.

Voices of Europe: We own all rights. Glad to transfer to Center.

(Lincoln Lodge Seminar
(Board Meeting)
June, 1953)

DESCRIPTION OF CONTENT

THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE

PROGRAM 1.

TITLE: THE LIVING DECLARATION

DESCRIPTION:

This is an introductory program setting forth in general terms the Jeffersonian philosophy of freedom of the mind in all phases political, social, religious. These general views are brought to the listener's attention by dramatizing the period during which Jefferson was writing the Declaration of Independence. ^{showing} that the principles involved are alive today.

PROGRAM 2

TITLE: THE DEMOCRAT AND THE COMMISSAR

DESCRIPTION:

By means of a fictional committee meeting the program explores Jefferson's theory of political revolution for just cause in contrast to the Soviet social-economic revolution instigated by mere desire for power. Listener is shown the distinction between the American revolution which replaced despotism with democracy and the Soviet revolution which replaced one despot with another.

PROGRAM 3

TITLE: DIVIDED WE STAND

DESCRIPTION:

By showing Jefferson's role in a contemporary dispute

over religious freedom, this program demonstrates that the strength of the United States is in the freedom of opinion allowed. Thus, the Republic is maintained by the paradox "divided we stand, united we fall." ^{To maintain the opposite is to invite tyranny} for complete unity of thought can be brought about only by coercion, and coercion is tyranny.

PROGRAM 4

TITLE: FREEING THE LAND

DESCRIPTION:

As a result of his stay in France, Jefferson resolves to abolish any unjust concentration of wealth in the United States. Listener is shown the economic system practiced in the United States by which unjust concentrations of wealth are forbidden, every man has the right to labor freely for his own profit, and a delicate balance is maintained between agriculture, commerce and manufacturing.

~~PROGRAM 5~~

~~TITLE: TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS~~

~~DESCRIPTION:~~

~~This program deals with the circumstances under which the Constitution of the United States was brought into being. The weakness of the original Articles of Confederation was recognized, and the necessity of a new constitution to prevent dissolution was evident. The listener is shown the reasons for discontent with the original government and how that government was replaced not by bloodshed but by reason and compromise. Also~~

PROGRAM 5

TITLE: TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS

DESCRIPTION:

From his residence in France, Jefferson views the circumstances which eventually lead to the Constitution of the United States. The listener is shown the weaknesses of the original Articles of Confederation - weaknesses which almost lead to the dissolution of the government and how the government was reformed - not by bloodshed, but by reason and compromise. Also emphasized is the American belief in human rights which not only are implied in every part of the Constitution but are affirmed in the Bill of Rights.

PROGRAM 6

TITLE: LIGHT AND LIBERTY

DESCRIPTION:

Jefferson, from the grave, reviews his endeavors in the field of science: his discoveries, inventions, theories and defense of the New World against the untruthful attacks of European scientists, particularly George Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon. The listener is shown the relationship between scientific search for truth and the liberty of thought inherent in a democracy; that science and religion are not necessarily apposed; that liberty leads to the light of truth and virtue; and that a nation will be great in both always in proportion as it is free.

PROGRAM 7

TITLE: THE RETURN OF A PATRIOT

DESCRIPTION:

Upon his return from France, Jefferson sought to retire from public life and enjoy living in his Virginia home. However, President Washington wished Jefferson to become secretary of State. The program deals with Jefferson's indecision, and the listener is shown his inner debates and his conclusion that public duty is a higher call than private preference and that each citizen must be willing to give of himself when called to serve the whole.

PROGRAM 8

TITLE: THE DANGER OF FREEDOM

DESCRIPTION:

Called upon by the Federalists to compromise his opposition to them and thus insure his election to the Presidency, Jefferson refuses to accept their offers. The program deals with the reasons behind his refusal, and the listener is shown Jefferson's ^{concern} for the ^{minority} groups in his opposition to the Alien and Sedition Laws and ^{to} the persecution of those not agreeing with the current administration. The program demonstrates American concern with the rights of the minority and the steps taken to insure their protection.

PROGRAM 9

TITLE: THE GROUND OF JUSTICE

DESCRIPTION:

Because he releases prisoners jailed for political reasons during the administration of John Adams, Jefferson incurs the wrath of Mrs. John Adams who asks him to define his concept of justice. He does so by citing John Adams' ^{successful} defence of the British soldiers charged with murder as the result of the "Boston Massacre." His trial serves to demonstrate the American concept of justice as not being subject to the winds of passion, but based upon truth and reason tempered with mercy; and that this justice is extended to all men regardless of their religious, social or political convictions.

PROGRAM 10

TITLE: THE EXPERIMENT OF A FREE PRESS

DESCRIPTION:

Jefferson, in the retirement of his home, welcomes an anonymous visitor who asks him to relate the growth of freedom of the press. The listener is shown ~~how~~ ^{that} freedom of the press, no matter how abused, is indispensable to the preservation of liberty; ^{and that} the American experiment of freedom of discussion with little or no legal restraint has been proven a success; and that the truth, realized by public judgment, will correct false reasonings and opinions.

PROGRAM 11

TITLE: THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES

DESCRIPTION:

The scene for this program is the debate in the Virginia Assembly over Jefferson's Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge. During the debate the listener is shown the arguments for and against public education; ^{and} how ~~although it~~ ^{Jefferson's bill} ~~was~~ ^{was} ~~not~~ ^{it} ~~contained~~ ^{contained} an important prophecy which was realized by future generations: that by a system of public education the truth may be passed on ~~to~~ from generation to generation and thus insure the continuation of liberty. Also demonstrated is Jefferson's belief that freedom of the mind to explore all subjects is indispensable to liberty.

PROGRAM 12

TITLE: NATURE'S MOST PRECIOUS GIFT

DESCRIPTION:

This program is based on a series of letters between John Adams and Jefferson shortly before their deaths. The primary subject of their correspondence is the aristocracy, and the listener is shown the distinction drawn by Jefferson between the natural aristocracy of men based upon virtue and talents and the artificial aristocracy based upon birth, wealth, beauty, physical power, etc. The program demonstrates that under the Constitution of the United States no hereditary right to power is recognized, and that the citizens of the country have the right to grant power to either the natural or artificial aristocrats.

PROGRAM 13

TITLE: WHAT THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE MEANS TODAY

DESCRIPTION:

In this final program, in the form of a talk or lecture, Professor Dumas Malone attempts to identify the principles of Jefferson as demonstrated in the preceding programs with the social, economic and political problems facing our society. Professor Malone places great emphasis on two words commonly misused in our time: _____ and _____.

Thomas Jefferson: *Philosopher of Freedom*

Emblazoned in big letters on the Jefferson memorial in Washington is this quotation:

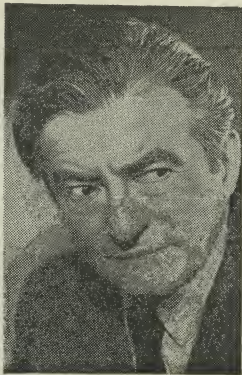
I have sworn on the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man.

For Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of American Independence and third president of the United States, the mind was the greatest hope of mankind, and freedom of the mind was the necessary prerequisite to all the basic freedoms.

Jefferson had boundless faith in the honesty of the common people, in their common sense and in their ability to reason. The important thing, he believed, was to see that they got the facts, and that, having obtained these facts, they were left alone to judge them.

A new series of historical dramas entitled *The Jeffersonian Heritage* will begin on Thursday, August 27th (8.00-8.30 p.m.) on CBC Trans-Canada. The programs have been tape-recorded in the U.S. by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters under a Ford Foundation grant. (CBC listeners may remember another series, *The Ways of Mankind*, which was produced for the NAEB by Andrew Allan of the CBC and relayed later on the Trans-Canada network.)

A series of historical plays prepared in the U.S. to explain the Jeffersonian heritage — starting this week on Trans-Canada



— — with Claude Rains as Thomas Jefferson, third president of the United States of America.

Dumas Malone, who is the author of several books on Jefferson and professor of history at Columbia University, acted as consultant for the Jefferson series. In a preface to the published edition of the radio scripts, he wrote: "One man out of the past, Thomas Jefferson, was seized upon as the best personification and symbol of certain ideas which are characteristically American—though most of them may also be regarded as universal—and which are still of vital importance to our own country and the whole free world in the unending struggle against totalitarianism . . . In seeking to make these great ideas live again, we have made use of imaginative forms while trying to remain true to history in spirit."

Starred as Thomas Jefferson is the distinguished American actor Claude Rains, who, says Dumas, "brings to the role not only the dramatic ability for which he is renowned but also a rare degree of understanding".

The first of the series' seven programs discusses "What the Jeffersonian Heritage Means Today". It deals with Jefferson's heart-felt belief in the sanctity of the individual and the freedoms which are rightfully his, and the main dangers that the Jeffersonian heritage faces today.

COMMENTS AND SUGGESTIONS OF JUDGES
Institute for Education by Radio-Television
1953

file



Title of Series The Jeffersonian Heritage

Title of Typical Program Entered The Living Declaration

Entry No. 253 Group 1 Class 4 Time 30 Intended Audience Adult

1. The Series as a Whole.

An excellent series, intelligently conceived and executed with skill. The series is known to have been well received by lay adults as well as by teachers of English and history. Moreover it was popular with high school classes to whom it was assigned for extra-curricular listening.

2. Content of Typical Program.

Most appropriate in matter and in mood. The program would be conducive to discussion.

3. Radio Quality.

Well written, performed and produced. The listener is more than a hearer; his ears deceive him into seeing as well, perhaps to the extent of empathetic presence at the events dramatized.

4. Suitability and Appeal for Intended Audience.

Outstanding in interest and language art.

THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE

Fact Sheet

Pressings of the 13 half-hour radio dramas are available to all radio stations.

None will be sold on an exclusive basis.

Series must be carried on a sustaining basis. No sponsorship will be permitted.

The pressings will be shipped to stations ordering the series on or about November 1. A more definite date will be indicated by NAEB no later than October 10.

The cost per set of pressings is \$25. The charge includes shipping direct from the manufacturer to the stations ordering.

Limited promotional material will be made available. See leaflet enclosed.

NAEB cannot guarantee delivery for orders received after October 10.

Audition discs are currently not available.

Send check or write for further information:

National Association of Educational Broadcasters
Frank Schooley, Treasurer
University of Illinois
Urbana, Illinois

JH dist

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS
14 Gregory Hall, Urbana, Illinois

ALBUM ORDER BLANK

THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE—13 half-hour programs on seven 12" discs. 33 1/3 rpm.
Stars Claude Rains. Series shows how Jefferson's ideas relate to the
present-day. Dramatic format. Series released on the NAEB Tape Network
on Sept. 15, 1952. A few of the program titles are: "The Living Declara-
tion," "The Democrat and the Commissar," and "Divided we Stand."

Price per album: \$25.00

PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM—7 hour-long programs on seven 12" discs. 33 1/3 rpm.
Documentary format. Series released on the Network Dec. 7, 1952. Program
titles are: "Terror as a System of Power," "Music to Order," "The Men
Who Make the Migs," "Drama to Order," "Literature to Order," "Pattern
of World Conflict," and "The Music and the Dream."

Price per album: \$25.00

THE WAYS OF MANKIND (SERIES I)—13 half-hour programs on seven 12" discs.
33 1/3 rpm. Dramatic format. Released on the Network Dec. 14, 1952.
Some of the titles are: "A Word in Your Ear," "When Greek Meets Greek,"
and "Survival."

Price per album: \$25.00

THE WAYS OF MANKIND (SERIES II)—13 half-hour programs on seven 12" discs.
33 1/3 rpm. Dramatic format. Released on the Network Oct. 4, 1953.
Some of the titles are: "The Case of the Borrowed Wife," "The Case of
the Bamboo-Sized Pigs," and "The Forbidden Name of Wednesday."

Price per album: \$25.00

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF EDUCATIONAL BROADCASTERS
14 Gregory Hall, Urbana, Illinois

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<u>1</u> <u>albums</u>	THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE	@ \$25.00 per album
<u> </u> <u>albums</u>	PEOPLE UNDER COMMUNISM	@ \$25.00 per album
<u> </u> <u>albums</u>	THE WAYS OF MANKIND (I)	@ \$25.00 per album
<u> </u> <u>albums</u>	THE WAYS OF MANKIND(II)	@ \$25.00 per album

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Jefferson
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(Saw)

TELEVISION

Mr. Jefferson

GENERALLY speaking, historical dramas on television turn out to be fairly boring affairs. For one thing, the actors are usually encumbered with such unfamiliar costumes that they find it hard to concentrate on their lines, and have to spend a good deal of time just getting on and off the sets without waddling or stumbling. Put the average television actor into a pair of knee breeches, say, and hang one of those Colonial collars around his neck, and give him a coat with ruffles down around the wrists, and the poor fellow is about as mobile as Grand Coulee Dam. For another thing, the prose in historical dramas tends to be rather densely historical. People don't knock on the door of a house and say, "May I come in?" They are more likely to say, "Good morning, Madam. A fate far beyond my control, or, indeed, the control of any mere mortal, has brought me on this fair eighteenth day of June, 1793—a day filled with a significance far beyond our poor ken—to your humble abode. Pray, may I enter?" For still another thing, there is rarely any drama in a historical drama. People are always on the verge of performing some immense feat of world-shattering import, but they hardly ever get around to it. They just talk about it, historically.

All this is incidental to saying that there are exceptions to the rule, all right, and that one of the exceptions, a historical drama called "The Independent Mr. Jefferson," came along a week ago Sunday, on N.B.C. "The Independent Mr. Jefferson" arrived under highly respectable auspices. Filmed in Chicago, the program was produced by N.B.C. in collaboration with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, which had, as I understand it, received a grant for the project from the Ford Foundation. The program was distinguished from the average historical drama by the fact that a lot of fine things were said about freedom to dissent and freedom to think as one wishes. They were said boldly, clearly, and without equivocation, too.

"The Independent Mr. Jefferson" first shows us Thomas Jefferson arriving, sometime in May, 1776, at the

house of Jacob Graff, a bricklayer who lives on the corner of Market and Seventh Streets in Philadelphia. Mr. Jefferson has come to Philadelphia as a delegate to the Second Continental Congress. He is looking for lodgings at the Graffs'. He carries with him very little baggage—a violin, a writing box, and copies of books by Milton, Locke, and Newton. The better part of his luggage is in his head, and consists of a number of remarkable notions about the rights of man in a free society. Some of these notions are quickly made apparent, since the Graffs, man and wife, question him rather closely before renting him rooms. They are cautious folk and won't rent rooms to just anybody, especially in these troublous times,



what with Tories in the neighborhood, and so on. Mr. Graff wonders whether Jefferson believes in God. "Surely this is a matter between God and me," says Jefferson. "What is your denomination?" asks Graff. "Very well, Mr. Graff," says Jefferson. "I have no formal creed. I belong to no party, neither political, religious, philosophical. If I could not go to Heaven but with a party, I would not go at all." "Be careful, Mr. Jefferson," chimes in Mrs. Graff. "You risk damnation!" "No, Mrs. Graff," says Jefferson. "I believe that God approves the open homage of reason rather than the blind-fold homage of fear and superstition. I can only say to you that I believe in God and have faith in reason." Mr. Jefferson is granted lodgings.

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—PHILIP HAMBURGER



Jefferson's Home, Monticello.

From an engraving.

A Standard for Free Men

THE JEFFERSONIAN HERITAGE. Edited by Dumas Malone. 165 pp. Boston: The Beacon Press. \$3.50.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL PRINCIPLES OF THOMAS JEFFERSON. By Caleb Perry Patterson. 211 pp. Austin: University of Texas Press. \$4.

By COLEMAN ROSENBERGER

"THE principles of Jefferson," wrote Abraham Lincoln in 1859, "are the definitions and axioms of free society."

Such is the Jeffersonian heritage. His is the most durable statement, eloquent and Euclid-clear, of the faith of the Founding Fathers and the principles upon which our nation was erected. It is a standard by which free men in every generation may test their freedom and from which they may draw inspiration and renewal.

"It is now no child's play," added Lincoln, "to save the principles of Jefferson from total overthrow in this nation." This has been a recurring challenge. In Jefferson's own day James Madison, his friend and confederate, saw the need "to take alarm at the first experiment on our liberties." Lincoln, in his, saw "the vanguard, the miners and sappers of returning despotism." Our own generation is not immune.

Jefferson, who wrote "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind of man," would understand today's fight against totalitarianism. He would understand, too, the forces of demagoguery and intolerance which would exploit that fight.

We can all be thankful for the great new monuments of Jefferson scholarship in our time—the Princeton edition of his papers, the comprehensive studies in biography—which are

illuminating the principles of Jefferson and making an understanding of them more widely available.

Dumas Malone, whose biography in progress is one of these monuments of the first importance, has in "The Jeffersonian Heritage" guided a work designed to reach an even wider audience. Here are the texts of a series of radio broadcasts, produced under a Ford Foundation grant, whose purpose is to present the ideas of Jefferson in dramatic form.

Mr. Malone worked closely with four able writers, and himself provided a summary commentary on "What the Jeffersonian Heritage Means Today." Four scripts were written by Morton Wishengrad, four by Milton Geiger, two by Joseph Mindel, and two by George Probst. It has been a fruitful collaboration.

A decade ago Sidney Kingsley's stirring play "The Patriots," originally entitled "Jefferson," demonstrated the dramatic possibilities of Jefferson's life and ideas. The twelve scripts here are more faithful to Jefferson—as would be expected of an enterprise in which Mr. Malone has had a hand—and they are more heavily freighted with Jefferson's ideas.

The authors have allowed themselves latitude with time and place and incident, but the words of Jefferson are often direct quotations from his writings. These have been chosen with a view to their relevance for today.

IN "The Constitutional Principles of Thomas Jefferson" Caleb Perry Patterson, Professor of Government at the University of Texas, ably summarizes from the whole body of

The
Billboard
—WIDE CIRCULATION—

The Independent Mr. Jefferson

TELEVISION — Reviewed Sunday (5), 1-130 p.m., EDT. Sustaining via WNET, New York. Producer-director, Ben Park. Writer, Morton Wishengrad. Additional dialog, Robert Hartman. Cast: William Prince, Henry Jones, Robin Humphrey, Jack Lester, Don Julian, Art Peterson, Carl Stohm, Ken Nordine, Joseph Gallicchio orchestra.

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters produced a top-drawer line-up of taped radio shows last year under a \$300,000 grant from the Ford Foundation. This year, the NAEB hopes to do a similar programming job in TV. The project got off to a fine start last week via the NAEB's first video entry, a half-hour kine drama tagged "The Independent Mr. Jefferson."

NAEB's first video show was adapted for TV from the Association's radio series, "Jeffersonian Heritage," which featured Claude Rains. William Prince plays the great American patriot in the TV version, and he is as quietly forceful in the role as Rains was in the radio original. The kine was aired as a one-shot over WNET, New York, and will be made available as a public service to commercial

JULY 25, 1953

broadcasters (on a sustaining basis) as well as NAEB member stations.

The first TV Jefferson script was largely based on the radio's series first show "The Living Declaration," which spotlighted Jefferson's writing of the Declaration of Independence, and his unsuccessful attempt to include a clause freeing the Negro slave.

In many ways the video version was better than the radio series. The use of inexpensive, simple sets and comparatively few players may have been an economical measure, but the net results imbued the tale with an appealing quality of intimacy and human interest seldom associated with historical dramatizations.

This effect was heightened by the cast's brilliant underplaying, particularly that of Prince and Don Julian, who portrayed Jefferson's grateful slave. Altho the dialog included many authentic Jeffersonian remarks, Prince delivered them with quiet conviction as tho they were truly his own — an achievement comparable to that of a Shakespearean actor who manages to breathe spontaneity into the Bard's oft-recited lines. June Bundy.

Jefferson's writings his views on constitutional government and examines them against their historical background. He has approached his work as a conservative in the true sense, as one who would preserve the basic concepts of our Government, recalling George Mason's ringing words in the Virginia Declaration of Rights: "No free government, or the blessings of liberty, can be preserved to any people, but * * * by a frequent recurrence to fundamental principles." By his organization of Jefferson's views, and his analysis of them, Mr. Patterson performs the valuable service of making easier that "recurrence to fundamental principles."

Each of the volumes here, in its own way, illuminates those definitions and axioms of Jefferson which stand, in Lincoln's phrase, as "a rebuke and a stumbling-block to the very harbingers of reappearing tyranny and oppression."

Mr. Rosenberger, a member of the Virginia bar, is editor of "Jefferson Reader," an anthology showing what Jefferson has meant to many different minds at many different times.

ROUND TABLE

ARTICLE FROM

THE NEW YORKER MAGAZINE

OF JULY 18, 1953

PAGES 63-4

TITLED

"TELEVISION -- MR. JEFFERSON"

By Philip Hamburger

Generally speaking, historical dramas on television turn out to be fairly boring affairs. For one thing, the actors are usually encumbered with such unfamiliar costumes that they find it hard to concentrate on their lines, and have to spend a good deal of time just getting on and off the sets without waddling or stumbling. Put the average television actor into a pair of knee breeches, say, and hang one of those Colonial collars around his neck, and give him a coat with ruffles down around the wrists, and the poor fellow is about as mobile as Grand Coulee Dam. For another thing, the prose in historical dramas tends to be rather densely historical. People don't knock on the door of a house and say, "May I come in?" They are more likely to say, "Good morning, Madam. A fate far beyond my control, or, indeed, the control of any mere mortal, has brought me on this fair eighteenth day of June, 1793—a day filled with a significance far beyond our poor ken—to your humble abode. Pray, may I enter?" For still another thing, there is rarely any drama in a historical drama. People are always on the verge of performing some immense feat of world-shattering import, but they hardly ever get around to it. They just talk about it, historically.

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End

Thomas Jefferson
and
OUR TIMES



ADULT DISCUSSION SERIES

J E F F E R S O N

A N D

O U R T I M E S



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The Fund for Adult Education
Pasadena, California

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PREFACE TO
JEFFERSON AND OUR TIMES

In 1952 the Adult Education Committee of the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, working under a grant from The Fund for Adult Education, undertook the preparation of a series of half-hour radio programs designed to summarize the major ideas and actions of Thomas Jefferson.

Doctor Dumas Malone of Columbia University, one of the country's major authorities on the life and work of Jefferson, was engaged as consultant and worked with several leading script-writers in the preparation of the content of the series of thirteen programs. A cast of professional actors, headed by Claude Rains, who played the role of Jefferson -- put these programs on records. The title of the series was "The Jeffersonian Heritage" and in the year and a half since it was completed, it has been broadcast over scores of educational and commercial radio stations in the United States and abroad.

Since many of the central issues with which Jefferson was concerned in his day are still with us, the Experimental Discussion Project of The Fund for Adult Education conceived the idea of using selected recordings in this radio series as a basis for a series of group discussion programs. Doctor Malone, consultant for "The Jeffersonian Heritage" was engaged to prepare written materials for group members to read in advance of listening to the recordings. These materials, together with brief synopses of each of the recordings used in this discussion series entitled "Jefferson and Our Times" make up the contents of this booklet.

Experimental Discussion Program

Subject to Revision

GENERAL HISTORICAL NOTE

Since this discussion project is based on a series of radio programs, something should be said at the very start about the character of the latter. It is summed up in the words of the announcer at the end of each of these little plays: "Authentic in historical spirit, while imaginative in form, these programs dramatize ideas which are the enduring possession of all Americans, and all free peoples." These ideas have been centered in a particular historic personage for purposes of effective presentation, and Thomas Jefferson was chosen for the central role because he can be more easily and fully associated with them than any other single man. But they belong to anybody who will receive them--in any and every age.

The radio as a medium permits us to take liberties with time and space which would be difficult or impossible on the stage or television screen, and which are not compatible with sober history. In this series Jefferson is often summoned from the grave, and in fact he is regarded as timeless, just as these ideas are. His language is adjusted to the circumstances of particular programs, and often he is made to say things in one situation when he really said them in another. Many of his finest and most characteristic sayings come from private letters and may have been known to relatively few of his contemporaries. We have not hesitated to put them into other settings, and are glad that they can be heard by millions now. No liberties have been taken with his ideas, however, and no violence has been done his language. Much though not all of his conversation consists of direct or indirect quotation, and he and the other historic personages are always kept in character. If in life they did not actually do all the things they are here represented as doing, they easily might have done them.

This mingling of fact and fancy may possibly be confusing to some, even though they are laymen rather than professional students of history. Also, some may be interested to learn just what the historic facts are in the particular episodes.

Accordingly, a fairly detailed Historical Note is attached to each program. Our

Experimental Discussion Program

Subject to Revision

main concern is with the ideas which are set forth in an Argument in each instance. These will provide the basis of the discussion, but some may be deeply interested in the setting and want to talk about it.

BRIEF SKETCH OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

Thomas Jefferson was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, on April 11, 1743. From his father, Peter Jefferson, a substantial planter and a man of local prominence, he inherited a considerable estate; and through his mother, Jane Randolph, he was connected with one of the largest and most prominent families in the province. Until he went to the College of William and Mary at the age of seventeen, he was privately taught, the most notable of his early teachers being Reverend James Maury, who grounded him in the classics. In college he was introduced to science by another unusual teacher, William Small, and for five years he read law under the direction of George Wythe, the most noted law teacher of his generation in Virginia.

Jefferson began to practice law in 1767 and continued to do so until the Revolution closed the courts, though he was chiefly supported by his farms. Public service was expected of a man in his position and in 1769 he began to represent his county in the House of Burgesses. He continued to serve there until the beginning of the Revolution. Meanwhile, he began to build his famous mansion, Monticello, which was not finished in its present form until the first decade of the nineteenth century. On January 1, 1772, he was happily married to Mrs. Martha Wayles Skelton, whose death ten years later prostrated him with grief. Only two of their children survived childhood: Martha or Patsy, and Mary or Polly. Four other children died, including one son (May 28 - June 14, 1777).

From the beginning of the struggle with the mother country, Jefferson was an ardent champion of the colonial cause. In 1774 he wrote a burning pamphlet, A Summary View of the Rights of British America, and in June, 1775, he began his service in the Continental Congress. In the course of this he drafted, in June, 1776, the Declaration of Independence. He then served conspicuously (1776-1779) in the legislature of his own state. He carried through the legislature a bill for the abolition of entails and was the leader of the fight to disestablish the Anglican Church.

Experimental Discussion Program

Subject to Revision

As a member of the Committee to revise the laws of the state, he proposed the abolition of primogeniture (eventually agreed to) and drafted his famous bill for establishing religious freedom (passed in 1786) and for the more general diffusion of knowledge (never passed). He was less successful as governor, 1779-1781, during the British invasion. Soon after his retirement he wrote what proved to be his only book, his "Notes on Virginia". Then, after the death of his wife in 1782, he returned to public life as a member of the Continental Congress (1783-1784). Here he proposed the decimal system of coinage and recommended the major features of the later policy of forming new states out of the territories.

For five years, 1784-1789, he was in France - first as a commissioner to negotiate commercial treaties and then as Benjamin Franklin's successor as Minister. Here he has his "Notes on Virginia" printed, associated with scientists and philosophers, and witnessed the outbreak of the French Revolution. On his return home he became, in 1790, the first Secretary of State under the Constitution, remaining in office through 1793. While thoroughly loyal to Washington, he strongly opposed certain policies of his colleague Alexander Hamilton. In 1796 he was supported for President by the Republican or Democratic-Republican party against his old friend John Adams, candidate of the Federalists. Adams had a majority of the electoral votes and, according to the system then in effect, Jefferson as the second man became Vice President. During the presidency of Adams, when he himself was practically impotent as Vice President, the notorious Alien and Sedition Acts* were passed. He always regarded these as an unconstitutional infringement on the rights of political opposition and free speech, and he and James Madison drew the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions in protest against them. At the same time he was serving as president of the American Philosophical Society and interesting himself greatly in scientific matters.

In the election of 1800, John Adams and the Federalists were defeated, but the electoral system then provided for no distinction in the vote for president and vice president, and by accident there was a tie between the two Republican candidates, Jefferson and Aaron Burr. This was finally broken by action of the House of

Representatives in favor of Jefferson. His presidency (1801 - 1809) was signalized by the repudiation of the Alien and Sedition Acts and the purchase of Louisiana, and towards its end was troubled by the infringements of the rights of the United States as a neutral nation in a time of general European war.

Jefferson aroused bitter opposition by his commercial policies, notably his Embargo, and he was also bitterly attacked by New Englanders for his liberal religious views. After his retirement to Monticello, where he remained until his death (1809 - 1826), some of this hostility continued, but his friendship with John Adams was happily restored and led to a notable correspondence between these old patriots. Their death on the same day, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, was one of the most dramatic coincidences in American history.

Jefferson's last years were clouded by financial difficulties, but they were brightened by his success in starting the University of Virginia (chartered 1819). As the inscription on his tombstone at Monticello shows, he himself valued his services to the cause of public education next after those to the cause of freedom. He is generally regarded as the most versatile of great Americans and his extraordinarily diverse activities cannot be readily summarized, but he has remained through the years the most conspicuous American symbol of freedom and enlightenment.

*For text of Alien and Sedition Acts see pages 51 - 53.

Brief Chronology of
The Life of Jefferson and Major Public Events

1743,	April 11	Birth of Thomas Jefferson in Albermarle County, Virginia
1760		Accession of King George III of Great Britain Entrance of Jefferson into College of William and Mary
1769		Beginning of Jefferson's Service in House of Burgesses Beginning of the Building of Monticello
1770,	March 5	Boston Massacre
1772,	January 1	Marriage of Jefferson and Martha Wayles Skelton
1773,	December 16	Boston Tea Party
1774		Coercive Acts which led to the American Revolution Publication of Jefferson's <u>Summary View of the Rights of British America</u>
1775,	April 19 June	Fighting at Lexington and Concord Beginning of Jefferson's service in the Continental Congress
1776,	June July 4 October	Drafting of the Declaration of Independence Adoption of the Declaration of Independence Beginning of Jefferson's service in the Virginia State Legislature
1779,	June	Beginning of Jefferson's Governorship of Virginia Report on the Revisal of the Laws of Virginia
1781		Reparation of the <u>Notes on Virginia</u>
1782,	September 6	Death of Martha Wayles Jefferson
1783- 1784		Jefferson's final service in Continental Congress Treaty of Peace with Great Britain
1784	Summer	Jefferson goes to France as Commissioner (with Franklin and John Adams)
1785	Spring	Jefferson succeeds Franklin as Minister to France Jefferson has his <u>Notes on Virginia</u> printed
1786,	January	Adoption of Bill for Religious Freedom by Virginia
1787	Summer	Federal Convention in Philadelphia, framing Constitution

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1789,	April 30 May 5 July 14 October 22	Inauguration of George Washington as President Opening of Estates General in France Fall of the Bastille Embarkation of Jefferson for America
1790,	March	Jefferson becomes the first Secretary of State
1793,	December 31	End of Jefferson's Secretaryship of State
1797	March	John Adams becomes President and Jefferson Vice President Jefferson presents his "Megalonyx" to the American Philosophical Society
1798		Alien and Sedition Acts Jefferson presents his Mouldboard of a Plow to the Society Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions
1801,	March	Jefferson become President Pardon of James Thomson Callender by Jefferson
1802		Attacks of Callender on Jefferson
1803		Louisiana Purchase
1807		Beginning of Jefferson's Embargo
1809,	March	Retirement of Jefferson from Public Life
1812,	January June 18	Resumption of Correspondence between Adams and Jefferson Beginning of War of 1812
1814,	December 24	Treaty of Ghent, end War of 1812
1815,	January	Purchase of Jefferson's Library of Congress, to form nucleus of Library of Congress
1818,	October 28	Death of Abigail Adams, wife of John Adams
1819		Chartering of the University of Virginia
1826,	July 4	Death of Jefferson and John Adams

Program 1

Program Title: "THE EVERLASTING STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM"

Record Title: "THE LIVING DECLARATION"

Historical Background

The saying, "The earth belongs always to the living generation", comes from a letter from Jefferson to Madison in September 1789, written just before Jefferson left France, in the early stages of the French Revolution. In the United States, to which he soon returned, the Constitution had just been adopted.

Jefferson's instructions about his tombstone were drawn by him toward the end of his life (see illustration in The Jeffersonian Heritage).

Jefferson did have lodgings at the home of Jacob Graff in Philadelphia, although the precise circumstances of his taking them over are not known. His conversation with Mrs. Graff is true in that it shows the sort of man he was, and it sets forth in this incidental fashion some of his most characteristic ideas. The motto, "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God", enters more directly into the next program. Another that is repeated in later programs - and almost everywhere else that Jefferson is talked about - is deservedly famous and supremely characteristic: "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man." We are getting ahead of the story by having him say this in 1776, for he said it in a letter to Benjamin Rush in 1800. However, he had precisely the same attitude at the earlier date.

The conversations between Jefferson and Dickinson, Livingston, and others are imaginary, but they summarize many of the arguments for and against independence, in Congress and among the delegates. Dickinson was probably the most conspicuous congressional opponent of independence at this precise time, though he afterwards did military service for the Continental cause.

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The quotation from Crèvecoeur ("What then is the American, this new man?") is from his Letters from an American Farmer, published in 1782 though written earlier, and it has become justly famous. We are a little hard on Dickinson in having him poke fun at the word "American."

Congress did strike out the passage Jefferson originally inserted in the Declaration in denunciation of the African slave trade, and the debate followed much the line of his colloquy (in the program) with an unnamed gentleman. (Interestingly, the actor who played that part in the radio production was a direct descendant of Jefferson, though a New Englander.) Jefferson's own indictment of slavery is based on a passage in his Notes on Virginia, written a little after this date. (There are references to his own slaves and his attitude toward them in the program, "The Return of a Patriot," in the printed version of The Jeffersonian Heritage.)

Argument

The first program sets the stage for the entire series, not merely by introducing Jefferson as a person and giving (in his instructions for his tombstone) a summary of his most memorable achievements, but also by presenting the general theme that the ideas embodied by him and incorporated in the Declaration of Independence are living realities. We naturally begin with the Declaration, because the history of the United States as a nation officially began with that. This document has a double significance:

(1) It announced a political act, the severance of the tie with Great Britain and the beginning of political independence, and it sought to justify this to the American people and the world.

(2) It was the charter of a new nation, embodying principles and ideals which American society has tried to attain and follow through the years. (As such it may be compared with the Virginia Declaration of Rights, which preceded it; the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen, which followed it in 1789; and with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the United Nations.

These are not referred to in the radio programs but they might be in the discussions.)

Inevitably, there is some reference in the recorded radio program to what Jefferson regarded as a thoroughly justifiable political act, but our main concern here is with the Declaration as a charter of rights. Its ideas and the ideas of its author, Jefferson, run like threads through the whole of American history and give that history its most distinctive meaning. This is well illustrated by the saying of Lincoln, in Independence Hall, Philadelphia, on Washington's birthday in 1861 when he was on his way to be inaugurated as President. Lincoln said that he had "never had a feeling politically that did not spring from the sentiments embodied in the Declaration of Independence."

Now, nearly a century later, we can find in the Declaration and in Jefferson the clearest and best statement of the difference between the American political faith and that of the totalitarians. We can best find what "Americanism" really is by looking at its historic source. But along with this thought goes another and equally important one: these sentiments and ideas must be applied by each age for itself. This truth is embodied in Jefferson's great saying: "The earth belongs always to the living generation."

In 1776 the central idea in the Declaration, to most people, was that of political independence, and Jefferson himself appears here as a promoter of rebellion against the British King. To him this King, and any king, was a symbol of tyranny; and his personal motto was "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." In our own time the external form of despotism has changed. The question of revolt against tyranny in any age is developed more fully in the program, "The Democrat and the Commissar." (Important themes appear in more than one program, and the first program in particular partakes of the nature of an orchestral overture.) The series, like the history of the American Republic, begins with the idea that grave dangers have to be faced boldly and that intolerable ills have to be resisted. Nothing was more characteristic of Jefferson than his preference for the dangers of liberty to the peace of servitude; and we can perceive a sharp con-

trast between his prevailing mood and the dominant one in our own time.

Most important of all in this program is the meaning of the freedom that Jefferson was fighting for. This freedom had many varieties and he was for all of them. His struggle for religious freedom, which is dealt with more fully in another program, is anticipated here; and diversity rather than uniformity is set up as a goal - in direct opposition to that of any monolithic state. Also, in this program there is the thought that the Declaration embodies ideals which were not then attained or attainable, and some of which have not yet been achieved. The time was not yet ripe - so people thought - to abolish the slave trade, though it was eventually abolished. The ideal of full equality of rights among all men, regardless of birth or wealth or station, is one toward which mankind is still marching. The supremely important thing is that the goal, at least, was recognized at the very beginning. The main theme of American history runs through the Declaration: the equal right of all men to freedom and opportunity. All the later programs may be regarded as elaborations on that.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. If, as Jefferson said, "the earth belongs always to the living generation," what can we hope to learn from the Declaration of Independence, written in 1776?
2. What are the chief differences, if any, between the "tyrants" of Jefferson's day and those of our own?
3. In 1776 was Jefferson emphasizing freedom more than security, or security more than freedom?
4. How would you compare his mood and that of the other Signers with the predominant mood in our country today? In other countries? What is the predominant mood today?
5. If you see an important difference, what is your explanation of it?
6. What do you think Jefferson and his contemporaries understood by the statement, "all men are created equal"?

7. If he had had to choose between freedom and equality, which do you think he would have chosen?
8. In your opinion, which would be preferred by most people in the United States today?
9. Do you think the preference would be different in other countries? Consider, for example, Germany, China, India, Mexico.
10. What would be your answer to the assertion of a Soviet writer (A.A. Vyshinsky) that the Declaration consisted of "mere promises which the bourgeoisie, having assumed authority, neither fulfilled nor even set about fulfilling"?

Note: Suggestions about the ramifications of the questions, and the way to handle them, can be made to discussion leaders.

Suggested Reading

Printed text of the radio program as given in Chapter II of The Jeffersonian Heritage, ed. by Dumas Malone (Beacon Press, 1953)

Text of the Declaration of Independence (down to the charges against the King)

F. C. Rosenberger, ed., Jefferson Reader (Dutton, 1953), pp. 235-247, for the comments of four Presidents on Jefferson's ideas and influence

Koch & Peden, eds., Life and Selected Writings of Thomas Jefferson (Modern Library), pp. 14-28, for Jefferson's own account of the debate in Congress and his text of the Declaration - including passages finally omitted (also for general reference)

Dumas Malone, Jefferson the Virginian (Little, Brown, 1948), pp. 217-231, for the story

Carl Becker, The Declaration of Independence (Knopf, 1951), especially for the philosophy

J. P. Boyd, The Declaration of Independence: The evolution of the Text (Princeton Univ. Press, 1945), for the documents

Program 2

Program Title: "FREEDOM OF RELIGION"

Record Title: "DIVIDED WE STAND"

Historical Background

Jefferson's struggle for complete religious freedom in his own state, which he afterwards described as the most severe of his entire life, extended over at least ten years. In the radio program the action falls within a single session of the Virginia legislature in 1776-1777, and there has been some telescoping of events for dramatic purposes. The religious fight was fiercely fought in that session and Jefferson, as a member of the committee on religion in the House of Delegates, was in the thick of it. Much was done to relieve dissenters at that time and Jefferson himself believed that there was no extreme intolerance in Virginia. But, as the script makes clear, he was content with no halfway measures and continued to press for complete separation of Church and State. He did not actually present his famous Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom at this session, though he probably began to draft it in 1777. It was formally presented two years later, in 1779, when he was Governor; and it comprised a part of the recommendations of the famous Committee on the Revision of the Law (Jefferson, Edmund Pendleton, and George Wythe). It was on this Committee that he did most of his arguing with Pendleton. The bill was not passed until 1786, when Jefferson was in France as American Minister, and it was Madison who guided it through the legislature. Jefferson's pride in it is shown by his request that it be mentioned on his tombstone just after the Declaration of Independence. The Preamble was somewhat modified by the legislature, but the Act remains as an epitome of his philosophy of religious freedom and it is one of the landmarks in the history of liberty. A few years later the principle of the separation of Church and State was written into the basic law of the United States in the first amendment to the

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Constitution.

The arguments for and against the separation of Church and State, as presented at this time, followed pretty much the line that they do in the radio script. Some of the characters, like McCormick and Mrs. Campbell, are imaginary, but Pendleton certainly is not and particular care was taken to do justice to the position of this noble conservative and lifelong friend of Jefferson. These men differed as friends and they never ceased to be gentlemen. Madison's position is also true to history, though he was a very young man in 1776-1777 and was much more prominent in the religious fight later than he was at this time.

In the script, the political conflict is set on the personal background of Jefferson's deep concern for his wife's health - which was bad at this time for just the reasons assigned. The conversations between husband and wife, and husband and doctor, have been imagined, but everybody is in character. Jefferson and his friend Dr. Gilmer joked in just this way about the state of medicine and his devotion to his wife is in no sense exaggerated. He and she often played duets from eighteenth-century composers, whether or not they ever played this particular bit from Mozart.

Argument

The central ideas in this program are complete religious freedom and the entire separation of Church and State. A supplementary idea, and in Jefferson's mind an extremely important one, is that religious diversity is not only inevitable but desirable. His attitudes toward religious liberty and the freedom of the mind in general are inseparable, and his emphasis on diversity extended to other fields besides religion. Hence he appears here in his most characteristic role as an implacable foe of any kind of enforced uniformity. To translate him into modern terms, he represents the complete antithesis to totalitarianism in any form.

In this program, however, we are particularly concerned with religion, and one of the first questions which naturally arises is whether or not in this instance the emphasis on freedom was not an expression of religious indifference

and an invitation to irreligion. It should be pointed out, therefore, that despite the charges of later political enemies, Jefferson himself was not an irreligious man, and that in his private life he was notably moral. The clue to his attitude can be found in his conversations with Mrs. Graff in the first program. He regarded religion as a strictly private matter which was nobody else's business. Actually, he talked about personal religion very little, just as he was extremely reticent about private domestic matters. In the present program, he talked to doctors about his wife and the beauty of his relationship with her is clearly shown; but he did not talk about her in public and there is no better way to describe his attitude toward an individual's religion than to say that to him it was as private a matter as his intimacies with his own wife. His own theological opinions were expressed, not in public utterances, but in private correspondence and memoranda. Actually, they most nearly approximated those of the Unitarians, but he never brandished them, nor did he attack the religious beliefs of others. He honored them, as he expected other people to honor his; and he had intimate friends among Anglicans in Virginia, Congregationalists in New England, and Catholics in France. He believed in free inquiry into religion as into all other subjects, but it would have been utterly uncharacteristic of him to launch an attack on organized religion such as Thomas Paine did in The Age of Reason. What he defended, as we shall see more specifically in a later program, was the right of Paine or anybody else to hold any opinions which he arrived at after honest thought and inquiry.

As to the government, he believed that it had no concern whatever with men's opinions on religion or any other subject. "The legitimate powers of government extend only to such acts as are injurious to others," he said. Any thing beyond that would be oppression, and the stifling of free thought was no cure for error. "Reason and free inquiry are the only effectual agents against error," in his judgment; and he pointed out that if the Roman government had not permitted free inquiry Christianity could never have been introduced. The bitterest fight of his life was against political religion, and as he aroused advocates of the

Anglican Establishment in Virginia, he was assailed in his later years by beneficiaries of the alliance between the various local governments and the Congregational clergy in New England.

It seemed to him that the only way to protect the sanctity of the individual conscience was for the government to keep wholly out of the religious field. As for uniformity, he thought it no more desirable in religion than in face or stature. Difference of opinion was desirable because the various sects would be a stimulus to each other and provide a mutual check. Was he a wise prophet? The answer to that question must be found in the history of American society.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. What do you understand to be the difference between religious toleration and religious freedom? Why were Jefferson and Madison unsatisfied by the former and insistent upon the latter?
2. Do you think that the doctrine of religious freedom, as embodied in Jefferson's Bill and the Constitution of the United States, is to the advantage of the United States in the worldwide struggle against Communism?
3. Do you agree that the legitimate powers of government do not extend to the religious opinions of an individual?
4. To any sort of individual opinions?
5. Judging from American History, do you think that the policy of governmental neutrality in religious matters has promoted irreligion?
6. Do you regard the reciting of the Lord's Prayer in public schools as an infringement on religious freedom?
7. Do you agree that religious diversity is more desirable than uniformity? Why?
8. If there is any strong pressure in our country today toward uniformity of opinion, is this mainly in the religious field? If not, where is it?

Suggested Reading

Radioscript in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. IV, pp. 57-66

Jefferson's Account in his Autobiography, Koch & Peden, pp. 40-42

Jefferson's Comments on Religion in his Notes on Virginia, Koch & Peden, pp.

272-277

Jefferson's Bill for Establishing Religious Freedom (as passed), Koch & Peden

pp. 311-313

"My Grandfather, Mr. Jefferson," by T. J. Randolph, in Jefferson Reader, pp.

62-66

General Account and Background in Jefferson the Virginian, pp. 274-280

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Program 3

Program Title: "SCIENTIFIC FREEDOM"

Record Title: "LIGHT AND LIBERTY"

The references in the radio program to Jefferson's own scientific activities are based on historic fact and could have been greatly extended. He did not live in an age of specialization like our own, and breadth of interest was characteristic of the learned men of that time, though no important American contemporary of his except Franklin came as near as he did to universality. Besides law and history, agriculture and architecture, he was interested in botany, ethnology, paleontology, climatology, and practically every known branch of scientific knowledge. Anyone wishing to pursue these fascinating matters further will find suggestions in the attached list of readings. Note should also be made of the fact that he was the first administrator of the American patent system and was himself an inventor, though he never patented anything.

The controversy with Buffon, which is translated here into the form of dialogue, found chief literary expression in the Notes on Virginia, which were not written for publication but were printed while Jefferson was in France. (He was there 1784-1789 and Buffon died in this period.) The speech of Logan, which Jefferson incorporated in his Notes from current newspaper versions of it, was the occasion of bitter political attack on him in later years, when he was charged with injustice to the "murderer" of Logan's family (left unnamed in this program).

The voices of criticism in the program are imaginary, but they say the sort of things that were said about Jefferson in his own time. At this stage of his career, however, he was on the best of terms with the chief college presidents. His final words in this program, which comprise an admirable summary of his philosophy, are from a letter to the President of Harvard. The passage just before

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this is from his first inaugural address.

Argument

No American, except possibly Benjamin Franklin, illustrates so well as Jefferson the scientific enthusiasm of the Eighteenth Century, and he stands in history as a major prophet of the scientific progress of the last century and a half which has been the glory of western civilization. He had supreme faith that human intelligence could unfold the physical secrets of the Universe and enable man to master Nature - if that intelligence could be fully liberated. Here is one of the best clues to his lifelong struggle for freedom. By force of circumstances he had to spend most of his life trying to gain and maintain political liberty; but at all times he sought to remove from the human mind the fetters of ignorance, superstition, and prejudice.

The radio script suggests his own scientific interests and achievements, which are fascinating in themselves and which are characteristically American in their emphasis on utility. The controversy with Buffon, which has many amusing aspects, reveals him as an intensely patriotic American who defended the New World against the aspersions of the Old; but it also reveals him as one who deplored inaccuracy and error and sought scientific truth in all fields. His defense of the American Indians is specially significant. Not only did he resent the careless comments on the aborigines based on hearsay evidence; he also resented these reflections on human nature. His faith in man extended to backward and undeveloped peoples.

Much of the criticism of Jefferson as a man of science in his own day arose from political opposition to him. The radio script suggests this, but it also suggests that a prophetic scientist might be expected to arouse hostility on other grounds. Science had not yet justified itself by its fruits to the extent that it did afterwards, and many good people regarded the spirit of free inquiry as irreligious. Jefferson was an object of suspicion because he wanted to carry it into every aspect of life, thought, and learning.

The wonderful discoveries of later years would have been impossible if scientists had not dared to extend their investigations into every aspect of the physical world. Jefferson's faith still shines like a beacon because it extended also to the human and social world, where he believed that eternal truth could also be discovered by free inquiry. If it be recognized that progress in these spheres has lagged behind that in the physical sphere, it should be asked why this is so.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. The inventions of Jefferson which the members of the group may know about.
2. What enduring interest, if any, is there in his controversy with Buffon?
3. Why did he make such a point of defending the American Indians?
4. If Jefferson were to return to earth what, in your opinion, would be the chief signs of physical progress - resulting from science - that he would note?
5. Do you think that the scientific advances would surpass his expectations?
6. What political and social improvements would he see? What improvements in human beings?
7. Would the progress seem to have been greater in science than in other fields? If so, why?
8. What obstacles, known to you, did the scientific investigator face in Jefferson's time?
9. Would you say that there is more, or less, scientific freedom in the United States now than then?
10. What restrictions, known to you, have the Communists imposed on scientific investigators?
11. What would you expect the effect of this to be on future scientific progress?

Suggested Reading

Radioscript in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. VII, pp. 93-99

Section in the Notes on Virginia in which Jefferson replied to Buffon; Koch &

Peden, pp. 201-212

"Thomas Jefferson as a Man of Science," by A. H. Clark, in Jefferson Reader,
pp. 49-60

Jefferson and the Rights of Man, Ch. VI. esp. pp. 98-102 (for Buffon episode
and scientific activities in France)

Thomas Jefferson: Scientist, By E. T. Martin (Schuman, 1952) (for more ex-
tended reading; contains illustrations of inventions)

Program 4

Program Title: "ECONOMIC FREEDOM"

Record Title: "FREEDOM TO WORK"

Historical Background

The incident of Jefferson's conversation with a poor French woman near Fontainebleau, whither he himself had gone as a diplomat to be near the French Court when Louis XVI was hunting there, is historical, being described in a letter to James Madison (Oct. 28, 1795; Koch & Peden, pp.388-389, where it is incorrectly addressed to Bishop James Madison). Certain of the details, however, are drawn from observations that he made elsewhere. His trip to the south of France is historical, and he talked with many poor people like the man in the radiocscript. This particular conversation is drawn from Jefferson's own extensive notes on that trip and his references to it in letters. The conversation with LaFayette comes from correspondence with him. The imaginary dialogue with Madison is also drawn from letters, and one of Madison's comments (not in the radiocscript) is of special pertinence today. As the text suggests, he doubted if the ills of France would be cured, even if idle lands were distributed to the landless, and he pointed out that misery seemed to be an accompaniment of a dense population. This was before the pronouncement of the Malthusian Doctrine, which it partly anticipated. It may not have been true with respect to France at that time, but it has definite bearing on the plight of overpopulated regions in Asia and elsewhere today. In many of these regions the ratio of land to people would be very low even though there were an equitable distribution. Also, the lack of distress in the United States then and later could be attributed very considerably to the highly favorable ratio between its physical resources and its population.

For dramatic purposes Jefferson's fight against entails and primogeniture in Virginia has been telescoped somewhat and thrown chiefly into an exchange of argu-

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ments between him and Edmund Pendleton. Some injustice may have been done the latter by process, and those who hear this program should remind themselves of the picture of Pendleton in the program on religious freedom. The nature of the problems connected with entail and primogeniture may be clear enough from the radiocscript, but references to that subject are given in the list of Suggested Reading. These laws were really relics of feudalism and the practice of entail, in particular, was an embarrassment to large owners who wanted to sell as well as to small owners who wanted to buy land. It limited the mobility of property and the attack on it was in no sense an attack on individual freedom. The distinctiveness of Jefferson's attitude lay in the social purposes which were in his mind. His efforts to make western lands readily available to small farmers were even more significant, perhaps, but it was not feasible to dramatize this aspect of his economic statesmanship. Nor is there any reference to the Louisiana Purchase, the most important achievement of his presidency. By means of this he enormously increased the amount of land which might be opened up to American farmers.

It has not been possible to deal here with the controversy between Jefferson and the New Englanders over commerce at the time of his Embargo (1807-1809). This much-disputed policy was designed to use what we now call "economic sanctions" rather than resort to war, and it has generally been judged unsuccessful. It would require a session by itself and all we can say here is that in itself it shows no hostility on his part to commerce. Jefferson's most extravagant praise of agriculture was made relatively early in his career, in his "Notes on Virginia" (1785). He gave great attention to commerce while minister to France and as Secretary of State, and in his first inaugural address (1801) referred to it as the "handmaiden" of agriculture. His conversion to manufacturing was later and never complete. He regarded it as necessary if the United States would become a relatively self-sufficient nation. He always preferred agriculture, however, as a better way of human life. His last speech, which summarizes his mature economic philosophy, is really a series of quotations.

Argument

Jefferson favored the maximum of economic freedom in all fields, but, because of the conditions of his time and his own proclivities, he laid major emphasis on agriculture. In his day the overwhelming majority of the American people were engaged in farming, and he was convinced that a self-sufficient farmer was the freest man on earth. The vast North American continent was only beginning to be opened up, and there seemed to be plenty of land for an indefinite future. From the beginning it had been easier to acquire land in America than elsewhere, but here as elsewhere it tended to get into the hands of a favored few. Large grants were made to favored individuals and in certain regions this sort of inequality tended to be perpetuated by the laws of inheritance.

Jefferson was convinced that a society that comprised many small holdings of land was far healthier than one that consisted of a few large ones, but the equality which he sought was not that of economic status but of economic opportunity. He himself was a large landholder, very tenacious of his beloved acres, and he did not even dream of a policy of confiscation. The main object of his economic statesmanship during and just after the American Revolution was to get rid of laws which artificially buttressed great estates and imposed artificial obstacles to the acquisition of land. He wanted to make it more available to all the people for homes and farms. This was the purpose and meaning of his successful fight against entail and primogeniture in Virginia, which he began to wage in 1776 - before he went to Europe as minister and saw there inequalities of economic opportunity such as he had never seen in America. Also (though this does not enter into the radio program), he sought at this time and afterwards to make western lands, as they were opened up, available to bona fide settlers on easy terms and to prevent them from being gobbled up by speculative companies. His prime interest was always in the small farmer who would have a stake in society when he became a landowner and could then enjoy genuine personal independence.

The radio program begins with an episode in France and it eventually flashes back to earlier events in Virginia. In pre-Revolutionary France he saw conditions

of inequality, and lack of economic opportunity on the part of the overwhelming majority of the people, which had no parallel in the United States, but he viewed these problems in the light of the same philosophy. He was in no position to affect French policy, but this humane man revolved in his mind possible remedies. These were long-range rather than short-range, preventive rather than surgical, and admirably suited as they were to the American situation they may not have been drastic enough for France under the Old Regime. Things had gone so far there that, within a few years, the greatest revolution of the age ensued. The remedies which he himself proposed, both in France and America, were based on a profound respect for property (as the servant but not as the master of man) and a desire to enlarge, not to curtail, the area of human freedom. In France, however, he went a step further than he saw any need to go at home. With amazing modernity, he suggested to his friend James Madison a graduated system of taxation based on ability to pay. This, he believed, would tend to discourage vast accumulations of property in the hands of the few, to the impoverishment of the many. By and large, however, Jefferson in his own age had a negative conception of the role of the government in economic matters. What he sought was fair play and an equal chance, without any special favors to anybody.

It was a philosophy which was well suited to his times in his own country; but, even then, there were those who thought him old-fashioned and narrow-minded in his emphasis on agriculture, as compared with commerce and, more particularly, manufacturing. These criticisms are voiced at the end of the recorded program and are best answered by him in his final speech, which should be read with special care. He would have preferred that America, with its abundance of land, be a vast Arcadia in which most people would be independent and self-sufficient farmers. Farming seemed to him the best life because it was the freest and produced the best citizens. In that sense he was an agrarian, but he would have just the same dislike of farmers as a pressure group as he would manufacturers. Commerce he recognized as a necessity, and he did much to further it. His objection to it, in comparison with agriculture, was that merchants and shippers were less free, since they were subject to the whims

and caprices of their customers. Cajoling and catering to the public, in the spirit of modern advertising, would not have been a congenial task to a man of his spiritual independence. His early objections to manufacturing did not arise from his objections to such processes, for actually he carried on much home manufacturing at Monticello. He was fearful, nonetheless, of the industrial revolution because of what it would do to the people engaged in it; he feared that it would enslave the workers and at the outset it certainly did. But long before the end of his life he accepted American manufacturing as inevitable, and he arrived at last at the idea of a balanced economy. Most important of all was his assertion in the final words of the radio script that no axiom can be laid down for all time in such a complicated science as economics. His own thought, as brought out in most of the present program, may seem to have more direct bearing on the problems of the undeveloped regions of the world, where the economy is still predominantly agricultural, than upon the highly industrialized and urbanized society of the United States today. But it is exceedingly important in that connection, and his insistence that economic institutions, like everything else, must be judged by their value to human beings is appropriate in any society in any generation. Institutions change, as they must, but the rights of man are everlasting.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. What evils did Jefferson seek to correct by his land reforms in Virginia? What remedies did he propose?
2. What were the chief differences between the land situation in France and in America as he observed it? Were the remedies he suggested in the two places different?
3. What remedies do you think he would recommend for land reform in present-day India and China? How would they compare with Communist proposals?
4. Which present land policies would you say are closer to the Jeffersonian ideal, those of India or China?
5. Do you think that equal distribution of land would solve the economic problems of those countries?

6. In your opinion, would Jefferson approve of the tendency of American agriculture toward consolidation and large holdings? Why?
7. Why did he, in his own time, prefer agriculture to commerce and manufacturing as a way of life?
8. In the present political situation in the United States, where do you think Jefferson would align himself, on economic questions, if he were here?
9. Is there any point in attempting to apply his economic philosophy to the problems of the United States today?

Suggested Reading

Radioscript in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. V, pp. 67-78

Account of fight on entails and primogeniture in "Autobiography"; Koch & Peden, pp. 38-39, 44-46

Eulogy of agriculture in "Notes on Virginia": Koch & Peden, pp. 279-281

Letter to Madison, Oct. 28, 1785; Koch & Peden, 338-339 (wrongly addressed to Bishop Madison)

Jefferson the Virginian, Ch. XVIII, "Freeing the Land," especially pp. 251-259

Jefferson and the Rights of Man, Ch. VII (on trip to south of France)

For those wishing to pursue the question of land problems in undeveloped countries in our own time, books like the following can be recommended:

Ambassador's Report by Chester Bowles, for India

Report on Mao's China by Franck Moraes

Program 5

Program Title: "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS"

Record Title: "FREEDOM OF THE PRESS"

Historical Background

There is little that is unhistorical in Jefferson's monologue except in the imaginary circumstances under which he speaks it. Nearly everything he says in it is taken from his own words as they remain on record. The strongest expressions of his about freedom of discussion come from his years in France, where the government was autocratic in form, though in practice it was far less repressive of critical opinion than modern totalitarian states. The greatest danger in the United States came during what has been called the American Reign of Terror. It was then that the Alien and Sedition Acts were passed (1798) and protested against by Jefferson and Madison in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions (not considered here). Diplomatic relations with France had been broken off and the country was on the verge of war. The mood was one of hysterical fear of foreign and domestic enemies - real or imagined - and the temper of the times has often been compared with that of the early 1920's in this country and with that of our own period of "cold war".

The notorious Sedition Law forbade any person to "write, print, utter, or publish" - or cause or assist anybody else to "write, print, utter, or publish ... false, scandalous and malicious writing" against the government, Congress, or the President with "intent to defame" or bring them into "contempt and disrepute." The difficulty lay in the interpretation of these vague general terms by partisan officials.

Most of the victims of the law were unattractive human beings and one of them, James Thomson Callender (who figures more in a later program) was an unscrupulous scandal-monger. At first he was against the Federalists, but after Jefferson became President he turned against him. Most of the scandalous stories about Jefferson that

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have circulated through the years go back to this wretched journalist, and almost without exception they were false. The story of a slave mistress is the most notorious, and it is wholly without foundation in fact. The religious attacks, which largely emanated from New England, were very extreme and reflected no exact knowledge of Jefferson's theology, but they can be partially explained on the grounds of passionate religious loyalty.

Though Jefferson himself engaged in no punitive actions against his slanderers, his followers did in one case - that of Harry Crosswell, a New York journalist. Alexander Hamilton defended Crosswell in the name of the freedom of the press. One of the finest statements of Jefferson's philosophy on this subject is in his second inaugural, which is extensively quoted in the radioscript. His letter to John Norvell, also extensively quoted, has long been in print and has attracted a good deal of attention lately. In this connection, the dedication of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton edn., Vol. I published in 1950) is specially pertinent. It is to the memory of Adolph S. Ochs, long publisher of the New York Times, "who by the example of a responsible press enlarged and fortified the Jeffersonian concept of a free press". Jefferson would like that, but what he would say about some of the sensational columnists and radio commentators of our day is another question. If he were living now, he might have more to say about the radio and television than about newspapers, and it would be interesting to speculate about his judgment of their freedom to discuss deeply controversial public questions.

Argument

The provision in the first amendment to the United States Constitution, which is paralleled in the various state constitutions, that no law shall be passed "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press," joins freedom of the press with freedom of speech. Actually, it is one aspect of freedom of speech. This program is centered on freedom of the press, rather than the larger question of freedom of speech, chiefly for purposes of convenience and in order to make the discussion manageable. Jefferson had definite experiences with newspapers, and these give us a good starting point.

The radioscRIPT in this program differs from all the others in that it is in the form of a monologue in which Jefferson summarizes these experiences and comments on them. At first glance he seems to have been inconsistent on the subject of the press. While he was in the absolute monarchy of France, before the French Revolution, he had this to say about his own country: "The basis of our governments being the opinion of the people, the first object should be to keep that right; and were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter." He qualified this extravagant utterance by adding that "every man should receive these papers, and be capable of reading them." That is, the enlightenment of the people in public matters seemed even more important than the institutions of government, since the latter had been created by the people and could be created again. But he had no such confidence in the press as an agency of public enlightenment during his own presidency. Then, in a moment of deep gloom, he said in a private letter: "Nothing can be believed which is seen in a newspaper". His own disillusioning experiences had served to illustrate the abuses of freedom. But he never surrendered his conviction that a free press is indispensable in a self-governing society; he was confident that a dishonest press would prove powerless in the end; and he always relied on the corrective power of public opinion.

The major question dealt with in this particular program is that of public discussion and criticism of public men and measures. (For reasons of convenience, the question of ideological differences is dealt with in the next program, on Freedom of the Mind). The struggle in Jefferson's time was, in reality, between two different conceptions of government. According to one, the government and governors of a country were the masters of its people, and criticism could not be tolerated because it would weaken authority. The American Revolution had sought to overthrow that conception in favor of another: that the government and its officials were servants of the people, and thus both public men and public measures were open to criticism. The old philosophy underlay the Sedition Law which was en-

acted (1798) at the instance of the extreme Federalists in the administration of John Adams. Passed in a time of anti-French hysteria it sought, in the name of national patriotism, to prevent all criticism of the government. It was chiefly employed against journalists belonging to the opposing party; and a major motive for it in the minds of the more extreme Federalists was to crush the other party (generally called Republican at that time) of which Jefferson was the acknowledged leader. He himself termed the Sedition Law (with which the Alien Law is generally coupled) unconstitutional, since it seemed to be in complete defiance of the First Amendment. The attempt to stigmatize the opposition party as unpatriotic and seditious was unsuccessful, for Jefferson was elected President in 1800. He pardoned the men who had been convicted under this law, and at that time or later the fines these men had paid were all remitted. Thus the legitimacy of political criticism and opposition was vindicated. Needless to say, this sort of vindication could have occurred under no dictatorship, ancient or modern, without overthrowing it.

Jefferson's concern for freedom of discussion related to public matters, and it was his misfortune to be subjected to a flood of personal calumny. The forms which this took are suggested by the "Voices" in the radio program. There had been personal attacks on public men before this but these on him appear to have been the worst. Thus the question arose whether the freedom of the press extends to private slander. Jefferson did not think it did, and he saw no reason why libel laws (state laws) should not be invoked in punishment of defamation. He thought it inappropriate for a high official to have recourse to such laws, however, and he himself never did invoke them. He relied on the corrective power of public opinion, and he interpreted his triumphant re-election as proof that an unscrupulous press was powerless to overthrow a just government. If he lost much of his faith in newspapers, he never lost faith in the people as a whole - in their common sense and essential fair-mindedness. He himself had been supported by many papers, to be sure, but this was a low period in the standards of the press and he was shocked by the manners of his supporters as well as by those of his enemies.

There has been much less recourse to libel laws in this country than in Great Britain, but it is doubtful if anyone is wise enough to devise adequate legal means to prevent scurrilous personal attacks on public men. As Jefferson himself said, the people who lap up the slander as it comes out bear a major responsibility for it, and as he saw, the only effective corrective of these abuses of freedom is that of public opinion. In our own minds a helpful distinction can be drawn between the discussion, on the one hand, of public measures and of statesmen in their public capacity, and personal abuse and slander, on the other. The line may be faint at times, but there can be no doubt that the freedom of the press (and radio and television) is supremely important in public rather than private matters. Personal diatribe against high officers of the government may weaken its prestige at home and abroad, and bad manners are not a necessary accompaniment of political democracy. On the other hand, the health of our political society is contingent on the full and free discussion of all important issues. Advocates of popular causes and measures need little or no protection, but critics of these often do and there is no freedom of the press when critical voices are silenced - either by law or the pressure of dominant political opinion.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. What, in your opinion, was the fundamental reason for putting into the United States Constitution, and the various state constitutions, a provision against abridgement of the freedom of the press?
2. Can you see any reason why there should be any difference, in attitudes toward the criticism of the officials, between a totalitarian government and our own government?
3. Why did Jefferson and his followers object to the Sedition Law of 1798? Did lack of patriotism have anything to do with it?
4. The Sedition Law (1798) was never tested in the Supreme Court. Do you think the present United States Supreme Court would judge it to be constitutional or unconstitutional?
5. Can you see any similarities between the situation from which the Sedition Law

- of 1793 emerged and those of our own time? What differences do you see?
6. Was Jefferson untrue to his own philosophy in characterizing the newspapers as untrustworthy during his presidency, when they were attacking him?
 7. What remedies did he suggest for the alleged abuses of the freedom of the press? Can you suggest better ones?
 8. In which of the following hypothetical cases would you regard it as most important to defend the freedom of the press (or radio):
 - (1) When a California newspaper urges emphasis on Europe rather than Asia in the "cold war";
 - (2) When somebody described somebody in the State Department as a homosexual;
 - (3) When somebody in Minnesota condemns the farm policy of the Administration;
 - (4) When anybody in the United States urges the admission of Communist China to the United Nations;
 - (5) When a radio commentator criticizes the President for playing too much golf.
 9. What limitations on freedom of discussion that you know of are now imposed on radio programs? Are there any that do not result from regulations?
 10. Would you say that in political reporting and the like, the newspapers show better manners now than they did in Jefferson's day? Any examples?
 11. Have you ever noted any difference between what political reporters say in private and what they write in their papers? If so, how would you explain it?

Suggested Reading List

Text of the radio program as given in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. XI.

Jefferson's Second Inaugural, section dealing with the press; Koch & Peden, pp. 342-344

Letter to John Norvell, June 11, 1807; Koch & Peden, p. 581

"Some Contemporary Calumny" (including a bit from Callender), in Jefferson Reader, pp. 109-111

For fuller study:

Jefferson and the Press, by Frank L. Mott (La. State Univ. Press, 1943),
a short book

Free Speech in the United States, by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. (Harvard Univ.

Press, 1941), a classic treatment

Appendix on "The Walker Affair" in Jefferson the Virginian (for the only
personal scandal in which there was a semblance of truth)

Program 6

Program Title: "FREEDOM OF THE MIND" or "FREEDOM OF OPINION"

Record Title: "THE DANGER OF FREEDOM"

Historical Background

In this program considerable historical license has been allowed the script-writer for dramatic purposes. At the very beginning the listeners are warned: "This story is true in a way because it is false in a way." It centers in the disputed presidential election of 1800-1801, which is a fact. The original electoral system was still in effect and under this each elector voted for two men, without distinguishing between President and Vice President. The unexpected result in this instance was the accidental tie between Jefferson and Burr, though nobody had expected the latter to be anything but Vice President. The election was then thrown into the House of Representatives, where the Federalists held things up a considerable time by throwing their votes to Burr. Meanwhile, there were efforts to extract promises from Jefferson, as a price of support. These are best summed up in the conversation between Jefferson and his rival in the campaign, John Adams. This actually occurred, though some of the details have been imagined. Adams does not appear at his best at this stage, but other programs serve to restore the balance in his case. Actually, he never went all the way with the extreme members of his own party - like Timothy Pickering, whom he eventually dismissed.

More important than the specific episodes, some of which are imaginary, are the attitudes which are brought out. Jefferson speaks for himself and his most important speeches consist largely of quotations. If he should seem a little self-righteous at any place, that impression was not intended. Many things entered into the election besides the issue of freedom of opinion and the historians are still arguing about its meaning. It is a notable fact, however, that in a period when a repressive government was in power in Great Britain and Napoleon was creating his

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own form of dictatorship after the French Revolution, the repressive party was defeated in America and the most conspicuous advocate of freedom of thought and speech was elected to the highest public office.

By this time the French Revolution had passed into an imperialist phase —much as the Russian Revolution has done in our own time, hence the issue of revolution, and attitudes toward it, had really become artificial. The general question of revolution and Jefferson's attitude toward it will be taken up in the next program. One thing that may be pointed out here is that Jefferson's political enemies had done their best to stigmatize him as a Jacobin and revolutionary, using "smear" words freely and reflecting on the patriotism of his party. Politicians follow the same sort of tactics in all generations, it seems, and there was no more reason to question the patriotism of either political party than there is now. The surest thing about Jefferson's administration, to anybody who really knew him, was that it would not be a Reign of Terror, in which the government sought to impose its own opinions by law or force. His foes had tried to arrogate to themselves the mantle of patriotism, but to his admirers, then and thereafter, it seemed that he was the truer champion of genuine Americanism.

The analogy between the situation then and now is close enough to be very suggestive, but care should be taken not to carry this or any other historical analogy too far, since conditions are never identical. The overwhelming historical opinion is that the fears of "foreign" ideologies and domestic subversion at that time were hysterical. The present situation and present danger must be judged on its own merits. One thing seems sure, however, psychological attitudes have an extraordinary way of repeating themselves in comparable situations.

Argument

The radiocscript on which this program is based differs greatly in form from Jefferson's monologue on the freedom of the press. That was a solo, while this is a medley of themes. Some of these have been heard previously, and certain famous sayings reappear. If any person should find the medley confusing he may be reminded that the various freedoms hang together; they are parts or aspects of the same thing.

The setting in this instance is political (the disputed presidential election of 1800 - 1801), and the Alien and Sedition Acts again appear. Attitudes toward religion and unconventional religious ideas also enter into the story. What we have here is a series of incidents that were designed to illustrate Jefferson's insistence on freedom of opinion in all fields - politics, religion, philosophy and everything else. He did not draw the line anywhere, and whether we speak of freedom of opinion, or freedom of intelligence, or freedom of speech, it is all the same. The right of every individual, through the exercise of his own mind, to arrive at his own opinions, and to express them freely lies at the heart of the Jeffersonian philosophy. His own particular political and economic ideas are inevitably dated, and it would be strange indeed if they could be applied without change to the conditions of another age. But the right of every man to hold and express his own opinions without any sort of external coercion is precisely the same in the middle of the twentieth century as it was 150 years ago.

In his own time he believed that America differed from Europe not only in the freedom it offered men to govern themselves and avail themselves of economic opportunity, but also in the freedom that it offered to their minds. If he were living now he would loathe Communism for many reasons, but its tyranny over the opinions of men, its enforcement of a rigid uniformity of thought, would probably be the first of these. The reasons for his implacable hostility to every form of tyranny over the minds of men are implicit in the recording, but may be stated more explicitly here. (1) All other forms of tyranny depend at last on this one. Tyranny and dissent cannot live together, and where dissent is stifled tyranny can reign. (2) The progress of the human race is contingent on freedom of thought and investigation. The history of scientific progress in recent generations is an effective demonstration of this; and it is a commonplace of history that many of the orthodoxies of today were the heresies of yesterday.

Since the relation of the freedom of the mind to human progress has already been discussed in the program on Scientific Freedom, and will be referred to again in the program entitled "Man's Right to Learn," it seems desirable in the present

program to center the discussion in the antithesis between tyranny and dissent and to apply this to political and international questions (rather than scientific or intellectual). This is the more appropriate because of certain striking analogies between Jefferson's age and ours. He also lived in an age when ideologies that were alleged to be foreign were greatly feared, and when the government had tried to coerce opinion in the name of national security. Furthermore, the attempts to suppress supposedly dangerous ideas were often motivated by political partisanship -- as in the case of the Alien and Sedition Acts. The extreme Federalists really denied the right to difference of political opinion. Because Jefferson and his followers did not agree with them on certain matters of public policy they charged him with being unpatriotic -- even subversive. This is an old political trick. They also turned on him the batteries of religious intolerance. His defense of Thomas Paine shows how far he would go in support of freedom of opinion, because Paine was exceedingly unpopular in America by this time. He was sure that many people condemned Paine's book without having read it, and he was correct in saying that they did injustice to this writer. The point of the episode, however, is not that he himself approved Paine's methods or all of his doctrines.

The clue to Jefferson's attitude is given in the opening speech you will hear in the recording. He did not fear ideas, believing that "error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it." He was confident that good ideas would triumph in a free society because of their own merit. Coercion was quite unnecessary. Also, coercion was perilous because of the fallibility of the judgment of rulers. To him it was an axiom that the opinions of men did not fall within the province of government. He believed in the free competition of ideas. He regarded dissent as inevitable and desirable. To him "Americanism" comprehended a variety of ideas, as the American nation comprises a variety of peoples. There are dangers in freedom and diversity, but there are far greater dangers in coercion and uniformity. Thus, the Jeffersonian philosophy, which he believed to be the historic American philosophy, stands as the complete antithesis of that of the totalitarian state.

In a self-governing society, however, there is danger of a sort of tyranny which

may arise from the people themselves. This is what Alexis de Tocqueville afterwards referred to as the "tyranny of the majority." Jefferson anticipated that in his first inaugural (see his last two speeches in the radio program). Here he said that the will of the majority "to be rightful, must be reasonable." The success of a democracy depends on the recognition of the rights of minorities, mutual forbearance, and full respect for the honest opinions of every man. Its strength lies, not in coercive laws, but in general confidence in its fairness, and it cannot hope to thrive in an atmosphere of poisonous suspicion. It should be inspired by faith, not paralyzed by fear.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. Can you think of any instances in the United States in our time where the attempt has been made, by means of law, to limit freedom of opinion?
2. Instances where such an effort has been made by non-governmental groups?
3. Why did Jefferson regard coercion of opinion as more dangerous than dissent from majority opinion?
4. What dangers, if any, do you think he would perceive in the procedure of congressional investigating committees?
5. How would you yourself distinguish between political dissent and subversion? Can you think of any instances in our own time when the effort has been made to identify them?
6. What do you understand by the expression, "tyranny of the majority"? What safeguards are there against it in the Constitution? What safeguards did Jefferson suggest?
7. Should tolerance of other people's opinions extend to allowing:
 - (1) Advocacy of communist doctrines in a public meeting;
 - (2) Advocacy of the overthrow of our government by force;
 - (3) Advocacy of socialist doctrines in public;
 - (4) Advocacy of pacifism in public;
 - (5) Public attacks on the social or political policies of a religious group?
8. Sum this up by saying where, if anywhere, you would draw the line.
9. Do you know of anybody who urges freedom of economic enterprise while objecting to freedom of opinion on economic subjects? Which do you regard as more impor-

tant?

10. Why did Jefferson defend Thomas Paine? Was he showing himself a good politician in so doing?
11. Where would you advise The Committee on Un-American Activities to go to find out the meaning of Americanism? Who is authorized and qualified to define it?
12. Do you regard the atmosphere of suspicion as more characteristic of a totalitarian or a democratic society?

Note: These questions are intended to be provocative, and some may seem unanswerable. It is suggested that the members of the discussion group draw up other questions for themselves.

Suggested Reading

Radioscript in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. IX, pp. 113-121

Jefferson to Benjamin Rush, Sept. 23, 1800 -- for the famous saying: "I have sworn on the altar of God", etc. (Koch & Peden, pp. 557-558)

Jefferson to Rush, Jan. 16, 1811 -- description of conversation with President John Adams (Koch & Peden, 609-610)

Jefferson's First Inaugural - extensively quoted in radioscript (Koch & Peden, pp. 321-324)

Poem: "Jefferson and Liberty" (Jefferson Reader, p. 99)

For a vivid account of the election of 1800-1801, see Claude G. Bowers,

Jefferson and Hamilton (Houghton, Mifflin), Ch. XXI

Tocqueville's famous passage on "Tyranny of the Majority" is in Democracy in America, Vol. I, Ch. 15 (in 1945 edn. published by Knopf, pp. 254-270)

ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS

1798

A. An Act Concerning Aliens, June 25, 1798

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States at any time during the continuance of this act to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States, or shall have reasonable grounds to suspect are concerned in any treasonable or secret machinations against the government thereof, to depart out of the territory of the United States, within such time as shall be expressed in such order, which order shall be served on such alien by delivering him a copy thereof, or leaving the same at his usual abode, and returned to the office of the Secretary of State, by the marshal or other person to whom the same shall be directed. And in case any alien, so ordered to depart, shall be found at large within the United States after the time limited in such order for his departure, and not having obtained a license from the President to reside therein, or having obtained such license shall not have conformed thereto, every such alien shall, on conviction thereof, be imprisoned for a term not exceeding three years, and shall never after be admitted to become a citizen of the United States. ...

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, whenever he may deem it necessary for the public safety, to order to be removed out of the territory thereof, any alien who may or shall be in prison in pursuance of this act; and to cause to be arrested and set out of the United States such of those aliens as shall have been ordered to depart therefrom and shall not have obtained a license as aforesaid, in all cases where, in the opinion of the President, the public safety requires a speedy removal. And if any alien so removed or sent out of the United States by the President shall voluntarily return thereto, unless by permission of the President of the United States, such

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alien on conviction thereof, shall be imprisoned so long as, in the opinion of the President, the public safety may require. ...

B. Sedition Act, July 14, 1798

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That if any persons shall unlawfully combine or conspire together, with intent to oppose any measure or measures of the government of the United States, which are or shall be directed by proper authority, or to impede the operation of any law of the United States, or to intimidate or prevent any person holding a place or office in or under the government of the United States, from undertaking, performing, or executing his trust or duty; and if any person or persons, with intent as aforesaid, shall counsel, advise, or attempt to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly, or combination, whether such conspiracy, threatening, counsel, advice, or attempt shall have the proposed effect or not, he or they shall be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and on conviction, before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five thousand dollars, and by imprisonment during a term not less than six months nor exceeding five years; and further, at the discretion of the court may be holden to find sureties for his good behavior in such sum, and for such time, as the said court may direct.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That if any person shall write, print, utter, or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered, or published, or shall knowingly and willingly assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering, or publishing any false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either house of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of the said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them, or either of them, into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the

President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, or of the powers in him vested by the Constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted and declared, That if any person shall be prosecuted under this act, for the writing or publishing any libel aforesaid, it shall be lawful for the defendant, upon the trial of the cause, to give in evidence in his defense, the truth of the matter contained in the publication charged as a libel. And the jury who shall try the cause shall have a right to determine the law and the fact, under the direction of the court, as in other cases.

Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That this act shall continue and be in force until the third day of March, on thousand eight hundred and one, and no longer: provided, That the expiration of the act shall not prevent or defeat a prosecution and punishment of any offense against the law during the time it shall be in force.

Program 7

Program Title: "THE NATURE OF REVOLUTION"

Record Title: "THE DEMOCRAT AND THE COMMISSAR"

Historical Background

Jefferson's political enemies charged him with a much more extreme attitude toward revolution in general, and the French Revolution in particular, than the one that is presented in this program. In the conservative reaction which followed French excesses it was to their partisan advantage to make him appear a dangerous man. Historians in our own day rarely show this sort of partisanship, but some of them have given a false impression by laying too much emphasis on certain vivid and highly quotable expressions of Jefferson's which have been taken from their context. One of the most interesting of these is: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants". This famous quotation was taken from a private letter, written before the French Revolution. The significance of the saying in its actual context of place and time is discussed in Jefferson and the Rights of Man, pp. 165-166, and Jefferson's early attitude toward the French Revolution is considered in the Introduction to that volume, pp. xvi-xviii. References to later comments on the French Revolution are given in the suggestions for reading that are attached to this program. Jefferson's attitude cannot be judged from a few passages, however, for he never discussed these matters systematically. It has to be judged in the light of his full career.

The Communist arguments in the radioscript are drawn from no single source. The scriptwriter had recently been working on a Russian program and was very familiar with the workings of the Communist mind. For the convenience of those who would like to look into the history, theory and practice of Communism, a few titles are given in the "Suggested Reading".

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Argument

Our history as a nation began with the American Revolution, which was a curtain raiser to the French Revolution, and Jefferson was the author of our manifesto, the Declaration of Independence. We ourselves are living in what is probably the most revolutionary age known to recorded history, and in a considerable portion of the world men have appealed to the Communist Manifesto. Much can be learned by comparing these two revolutionary movements, in their theory and practice. The subject is vast and opinions about historic events differ, even among scholars, but distinction can be made between revolutions.

In this program the effort is made to distinguish between the historic revolution of the American sort, and the contemporary revolution of the Communist sort. This is done by means of an examination of Jefferson by a Commissar, who keeps trying to prove that the author of the Declaration of Independence is on his side. The subject is difficult and at times the dialogue may be confusing to the listeners. The Communist would not be in character if he did not try to trick the American spokesman into a damaging admission, and Jefferson would not be true to history if he denied being as much of a revolutionary as he actually was. It would be foolish to deny that he and the other Patriots of 1776 proclaimed a revolt against authority; but there were very significant differences between him and modern Communists.

What we are giving here, in dialogue, is an interpretation of great historic events, without going into confusing detail. Therefore, the main points have to be stated rather dogmatically.

The American Revolution was a revolt against foreign rule. In 1776 our forefathers were not terrified by the word "revolution" as many Americans of today are, but this might just as well have been called the War for American Independence. It was supported by men of various shades of opinion who were united by their common desire to attain national self-government. They wanted to manage their own affairs, political and economic. Similar motives can be seen in the various nationalist movements of our own time which have been directed against imperial-

ism. In America the war was accompanied and followed by some economic and social upheaval, as is very often the case in wars. There were some domestic violence (for example Shay's Rebellion), but there was relatively little on the whole. A number of people, like Jefferson, hoped that there would be a closer approximation of equality of economic opportunity under independence; but he countenanced no violence in the achievement of social and economic ends, and the reforms of this era were effected, not by violence, but by the orderly processes of legislation in a self-governing society. The chaos which so often follows wars did not lead to the establishment of a new form of tyranny. The Constitution followed the Declaration of Independence, and George Washington became the elected President, not a military dictator like Napoleon. Fortunately, no drastic changes were needed to cure the major ills of the time, and Americans were already schooled in self-government. This turned out to be a thoroughly constructive revolution.

As to the French Revolution, it started in the same way in that it was a revolt against political tyranny. For that reason American lovers of liberty applauded it in its early stages. But it passed into far greater excesses, for reasons we cannot go into except to say that Jefferson thought it moved much too fast; he believed that the French people were unprepared for the same degree of self-government as the American. Chaos resulted and in the end Napoleon emerged as another kind of dictator. By that time the revolution had passed into French imperialism, and in this respect it was like the later Russian Revolution, not at all like the American.

The Russian Revolution of our century can be compared with the American in only its very first stages - in the original revolt against the Tsar. (In the radioscript, where this matter is discussed in negative terms, a false impression may be given by Jefferson's comment at the top of p. 48. He would almost certainly have approved the overthrow of the old Russian tyranny.) From that time on, it assumed the mantle of class warfare; it looked forward to class conflict throughout the world; it soon took on the form of a new tyranny; and it is now in the imperialistic stage. The Communists have created the most formidable tyranny and

the most formidable empire known to history; and if their economic language still has a revolutionary sound, their government is extremely reactionary. Political tyranny is a very ancient institution. Furthermore, it may be believed that the expansion of this tyrannical empire has come less from its doctrines than from the chaos created by the Second World War. There is no possible analogy here with the American Revolution, and the two movements should go by wholly different names.

The bearing of these facts and interpretations on the problems of the present world is suggested in the questions which follow. It was not to be expected that the revolutions of our own age would closely follow the historic American pattern, for only in the British Dominions were conditions similar, and national self-government has been achieved in them with full British consent. Nowhere else have the people been trained in the management of their own affairs as colonial Americans were. Also, we must recognize that among the peoples of the world today economic opportunity and security often seem more important than political liberties and privileges. There are more concerned to meet their physical necessities than to enjoy the suffrage, and are not unwilling to barter liberty for the promise of security.

This was not the sort of situation that Jefferson saw in his own country in 1776. What attitude would he take toward revolution if he were here now? It is unlikely that he would discard the historic slogan: "All governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed." Probably he would be more aware than he was in 1776 of the high cost of revolution, for he perceived that in connection with the French. Since he always preferred remedial measures, he would probably say that the best way to prevent costly revolutions is to remove their causes. Undoubtedly he would be shocked by the Marxian emphasis on class warfare and would be as opposed to the "dictatorship of the proletariat" as to any other form of dictatorship. He would still emphasize the importance of reasonableness in human affairs, he would still put human interests first, and he would not be himself if he did not set his face like flint against all forms of tyranny.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. What do you understand to be the meaning of the assertion that the American Revolution of 1776 was predominantly political? Did not economic motives enter into it?
2. Were economic and social changes (domestic) brought about by force at this time? At any time in American history, so far as you know?
3. Why was a military dictatorship not established in the United States in the confused period after the Revolution?
4. Why did the great body of Americans approve the French Revolution at first? Why did so many disapprove it eventually?
5. Can you see any similarity between developments in France in that generation and in Russia in our generation?
6. Any similarity between American developments then and Russian developments in our time?
7. Can you think of any revolt or movement of our time that was similar to the American Revolution?
8. In the light of our own history, what would you expect the predominant American attitude to be toward nationalist revolts against imperialism?
9. On what grounds, if any, would you oppose them or qualify your approval of them?
10. In what sense is Communism a revolutionary force in the world today? Is there any reason for describing it as reactionary?
11. To which of the following would you give greatest weight in explaining the extension of Communist influence since World War II:
 - (1) Appeal to the industrial proletariat;
 - (2) Appeal to the desire of individuals for personal freedom;
 - (3) The collapse of governments after the War;
 - (4) Economic need;
 - (5) The Soviet Army?
12. What in your opinion would be Jefferson's reaction to the following from the Communist Manifesto:

"In short, the Communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things?"

Suggested Reading

Radioscript in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. III

Comments of Jefferson on the French Revolution:

In his Autobiography, Koch & Peden, pp. 104-106

To Lafayette, Feb. 14, 1815; Koch & Peden, pp. 654-655

To Barbe' de Marbois, June 14, 1817; Koch & Peden, pp. 681-682

For further reading

On Jefferson's attitude toward the American Revolution:

Jefferson the Virginian, pp. 225-228, 242-243, and elsewhere

On Communism:

Hugh Seton-Watson, The East European Revolution (F.A. Praeger, 1951)

Hugh Seton-Watson, From Lenin to Malenkov (F.A. Praeger, 1953)

R. N. Carew Hunt, Theory and Practice of Communism (Macmillan, 1951)

Also

D. W. Brogan, The Price of Revolution (Harper, 1951)

Program 8

Program Title: "FAIR TRIAL"

Record Title: "THE GROUND OF JUSTICE"

Historical Background

Though the same warning is issued in both cases, there is less departure from historic fact in this program than in the one on "The Danger of Freedom". Justice Chase, presiding over the trial of Callender, bullied the prisoner even more than the radioscript implies. Jefferson's pardon of Callender embittered Abigail Adams and they did mention him in correspondence. Their interchange occurred somewhat later than is implied here, however, and by that time Callender's slanderous attacks on Jefferson warranted Abigail in saying, "I told you so".

Jefferson did not refer in this connection to John Adams' defense of the redcoats and this has been hung on the peg of the correspondence with Abigail by the dramatist's device. In actuality, Jefferson never emphasized this episode as he is made to do in the radioscript. It fits his philosophy, nevertheless, and the episode itself is authentic.

The facts of the famous trial are essentially as they are given in the text. No mention is made, however, of the trial of Captain Preston which preceded that of the enlisted men. Adams spoke for the defense in this, also, but we have used the later trial for two reasons: (1) there is no record of Adams' speech in the Preston trial; (2) the trial of the enlisted men was more vivid and excited greater popular passion. The political implications of the case could not be gone into without confusing the major issue. The trial was before the Superior Court of Judicature, and there were four judges. Each of the latter gave a charge to the jury. The procedure is necessarily simplified in the text. Needless to say, the "benefit of clergy" of which the two convicted men availed themselves has long ceased to be recognized. An inquiry into the particular circumstances under which

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such an appeal could then be made would lead us too far afield.

The main points made in the text are historically correct: (1) orderly legal procedure was followed in a time of intense excitement; (2) Adams risked his future in the name of justice; (3) essential justice was done. Adams' reputation survived the ordeal at the time, but a quarter of a century later, when he was a candidate for President, his political foes sought to discredit him by reviving this story.

Argument

This radio program differs from the others in that the part played by Jefferson is chiefly that of narrator while John Adams is the main actor. The heritage which is described in Jefferson's words and illustrated by the main episode is in no strict sense Jeffersonian, nor does it descend from John Adams alone. It is the tradition of equal and exact justice to all men, regardless of status and condition, and it is the exclusive possession of no one people. Characteristically, however, it is western rather than Oriental, and it is distinctively (though not exclusively) Anglo-American. It is one of the finest traditions that has come down to us, through the generations, from the earliest colonists in this country. It is without honor in totalitarian countries, whether Communist or Fascist.

The program starts with a brief episode in the career of James Thomson Callender, an unscrupulous journalist whom we have already met. By pardoning this unworthy man, who had been convicted under the unwise and probably unconstitutional Sedition law, Jefferson rendered justice which was not required by the recipient. As we saw in the program on "Freedom of the Press", Callender afterwards returned evil for good. Jefferson was gullible in this case and the whole affair was mixed with politics, but the new President unquestionably went out of his way to be fair to an individual whom he believed to have suffered injustice.

John Adams did the same sort of thing, though under very different circumstances, in his defense of the British soldiers who were tried for murder after the "Boston Massacre" (1770). If this was not the highest and purest moment in Adams' life, as Jefferson said, it would be hard to match. In this time of danger-

ous friction between the Massachusetts colonists and the home government, the red-coats comprised a small garrison - a petty army of occupation - and they were cordially hated by the Boston populace. The most active local patriots, like Samuel Adams, sought to make life so miserable for them that they would be withdrawn, and they were much abused by the taunting mob. It required the highest sort of moral courage to defend them. John Adams, a rising man but still young and poor, risked his professional and political career by taking this case. On patriotic grounds he deeply resented their presence in Boston, but he believed that the violent patriots were distinctly in the wrong in arousing the mob against them. He was chiefly moved by a sense of duty and fairness. As Jefferson put it in the radio program, "someone must rise to speak for the reviled, for the man who is hated, for him who is contemptible and unbefriended." Otherwise, there can be no real justice.

Jefferson draws the moral on the story in which Adams appears as hero. He might have employed even broader terms. He might have said that true lovers of liberty, of self-government, and of representative institutions must ever be vigilant of the means employed in pursuit of ends. Nothing is more characteristic of modern totalitarianism than the assumption that their ends justify any means. That was not the philosophy of Jefferson and John Adams, and at this time Massachusetts-Bay was still a royal British province, living under a regimen of law in which the colonists themselves participated. Technically, the Crown was prosecuting these soldiers, and this in itself is an example of the historic English regard for law. The court and jury also deserve credit at the bar of history. They, with Adams, were in the great Anglo-American tradition of impartial justice.

In this historic instance fair trial and fair play rose above personal passion and fierce local patriotism, and essential justice was done an unattractive group of men who were unimportant in themselves. If the conditions of our time make this sort of thing more unlikely than it used to be in our country or anywhere else, one of the priceless traditions of mankind is in danger.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. Why did Jefferson pardon Callender? Was this a wise action?
2. Translate the episode into terms of our own time, if that is possible.
3. Why did the British Crown prosecute the redcoats and John Adams defend them?
4. Recognizing that circumstances could not be identical, do you think it likely that a rising public man in our country today would do such a thing as Adams did? If not, why not?
5. Where in the present world do you think it most likely that law and justice would triumph over passionate local patriotism?
 - In a Communist country?
 - In a Fascist country?
 - In India?
 - In England or a British Dominion?
 - In the United States?
6. Do you know of any notable trial in the United States in recent years where special effort was made to do justice to men accused of Communism? Was this a good thing, or was it dangerous?
7. Would you say that fears of Communists have had or have not had an appreciable effect in lowering standards of justice in the United States in our day?
8. What safeguards are provided for persons brought before congressional investigating committees? Are these less than in the courts of law?
9. What are the advantages and dangers of using evidence obtained by wire-tapping? What, in your opinion, would Jefferson think of this?
10. Leaving Communists and alleged subversives out of consideration, what sorts of people are least likely to get a fair trial in the United States today? Has the situation deteriorated or improved with respect to any of these, within your knowledge?
11. Who are least likely to gain fair treatment in your locality? Why?
12. Is there anything in our present situation which makes it harder to show equal and exact justice to all men than it was in the time of Adams and Jefferson?
13. Can you think of anybody who would object to this program, "Fair Trial"?

Suggested Reading

Radioscript in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. X

Catherine Drinker Bowen, John Adams and the American Revolution (Little, Brown, 1950) Chs. 20-22, for the Boston Massacre and the trial (Ch. 22) (This widely read book is romanticized history but it is essentially correct.)

Much of the correspondence between Jefferson and Abigail Adams is in print, but it is in old and relatively inaccessible books.

Program 9

Program Title: "MAN'S RIGHT TO LEARN"

Record Title: "THE UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED STATES"

Historical Background

At the University of Virginia they still speak of Jefferson's looking through a telescope from Monticello as the bricks were being laid, and one of the most prominent buildings in the University was named for Cabell, his most important collaborator. This institution was the beloved child of his old age; the plan and buildings represent his chief title to architectural fame; and, as the saying goes, the people there still speak as though he were in the next room. In his own state he got the apex of the educational pyramid before he got the broad base he wanted, and there were some people at the time who charged him with indifference to the great body of the people in his old age. Hence the flashback in the radio program to his earlier proposals and struggles. In his Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge forty years earlier (1779) he had outlined an entire educational system for Virginia, and it was this that gained him the title of major prophet of public education in the United States.

As the text says, the story of events is freely reconstructed, so as to bring the events and arguments of a considerable period into a single debate. In essentials, however, the story is quite correct. His bill was passed in a truncated form years later, when he was no longer in the Assembly, and his fears that the provision leaving matters to the individual counties would defeat his purposes were fully realized. There were some further provisions for common school education in the state before he died, but there was no comprehensive system. Comprehensive systems were afterwards worked out in other states, especially in the Middle West, but without the selective features which he had included.

It was only after his own full retirement from public life in 1809 that he was

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able to turn his attentions again to public education. The University of Virginia was chartered in 1819 and Jefferson was its first Rector, that is, Chairman of the Board. It had no President until 1904, being administered wholly by the faculty. There is an abundant literature on Jefferson's educational activities, and some of this is referred to in the "Suggestions for Reading."

Argument

In no other field except science have the ideas and hopes of Jefferson come to such rich fruition as in education, and nowhere else does he appear more clearly and unmistakably as a major prophet. Some of his ideas are now so widely accepted that we largely take them for granted, not realizing how strongly they were challenged in his own day - when, actually, he was able to carry them into only limited effect. Though his thoughts and actions are of interest to any teacher or scholar, in any sort of school, he addressed himself chiefly to public education.

His basic idea was that the education of all the people is the responsibility and the necessary function of the state. The fundamental reason why this responsibility must be assumed is that education is a corollary of political democracy, and that without an intelligent citizenry freedom and self-government cannot be preserved. The state has to assume it because no private agency can take on so vast a task. In his own day Jefferson was fearful lest education should fall into the hands of particular religious groups. His anti-clericalism did not spring from hostility to religion, but arose from his fear that particular sects would try to utilize education for their own advantage as religious organizations. As we saw in an earlier program, he was especially fearful of any sort of alliance between church and state. Certain religious groups resisted the idea of public education in his day, and continued to do so in many of the older states after his death. It was in the newer states, especially in the Middle West, that the idea of public education was most fully accepted. Even in the older states, however, religious objections were most effective in the field of higher than in elementary education, because of the inability of any single religious group to provide for the training of all the children in a state.

The most effective line of objection in his own time, actually, was that the education of all the people was impracticable because of expense -- which, incidentally, would fall chiefly on the well-to-do. Jefferson's answer to this argument was that all would share the benefits of public enlightenment, and that in the long run the fruits of ignorance would prove even more costly. On this point, posterity has agreed with him and the prosperity of a new and growing country has permitted American society to assume a financial obligation beyond the dreams of even Jefferson. This should not be attributed to prosperity alone, however, for the American enterprise of universal public education is one of the most striking examples of the faith of a democratic society. It has been said that education has become an American religion.

Another line of objection in his time was that universal education was dangerous to organized society because it would make the lower classes dissatisfied with their lot, and undesirable since it would reduce all classes to the dull level of mediocrity. Such objections were inspired by the self-interest of the favored groups, of course, but there was some point in them. No society can survive if everybody in it is "educated" to such a point that he refuses to do physical work, and there is a danger of leveling men down by pouring them into a common mold. These dangers were foreseen and guarded against by Jefferson, as a matter of fact, and it was not his fault that later generations disregarded important qualifications and refinements in his proposals.

He was convinced that the education of everybody at public expense up to a point was necessary, in order that men might intelligently exercise their duties as citizens. Under the conditions of his own time he tried to make these proposals feasible, and few Americans now would be satisfied with them. It is only the principle that need concern us here. He believed that beyond a point education at public expense should be on a selective basis. This should not be the artificial basis of birth and wealth, as it tended to be under the old system. It was to be wholly on grounds of merit, and was to tap the aristocracy of talent and virtue, from which the leaders of society must come. (This matter of leadership is central in the next

program). Jefferson would never have said that the state owes every boy all the education he wants at every stage, regardless of his abilities; and he would have been horrified by the thought that universal education would result in the lowering of standards everywhere. He did not want to put an intolerable financial burden on society or to make a travesty of education. Some indiscriminating enthusiasts for universal education in a democratic society may tend to reduce it to an absurdity, but Jefferson, whose faith kindled that of so many others, was discriminating. Many educational leaders of our own time have recurred to his emphasis on selection; and the application of tests of fitness during the post-war rush to the colleges and universities was quite in line with his thought. The result was that sons and daughters of the rich frequently failed of admission, while able youths from poor families gained it. Jefferson himself never questioned the right of well-to-do parents to give their children as much education as they were willing to pay for; but he believed that education at public expense should be based on considerations of probable public usefulness.

Times have changed so much since his day that his views on the content of education are no longer of major interest: and his views on higher education enter little into the radio program. Probably there never was an American public man with greater faith in knowledge, and he valued no freedom beyond freedom to learn. As he says in the radio script, the University he had fathered was to be based on "the illimitable freedom of the human mind to explore and expose every subject susceptible to its contemplation." There is no possible doubt of the stand he would take on academic freedom. If there are those in our generation in America who make a veritable religion of universal education and are at the same time distrustful of scholars and intellectuals, Jefferson would find them incomprehensible. Faith in the human mind was central in his philosophy; and it seemed to him that the surest way to impose tyranny on men was to restrict the operations of intelligence.

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. Would you say that the idea of universal public education is accepted in all parts of the United States today? If not, what are the exceptions?

2. Do people generally approve this for the same reasons that Jefferson gave? If not, what are the differences?
3. Is there any point at which the responsibility of a state for the education of its youth ends? If so, where is it?
4. If a high degree of education and intelligence among citizens is a safeguard against tyranny, how can you explain the triumph of the Nazis in Germany?
5. Would you expect greater respect for learning and the arts in a democratic or an aristocratic society? Cite examples and give reasons.
6. Would you say that most Americans regard the following terms as complimentary or uncomplimentary: egg head; highbrow; brain trust?
7. Have you noted any signs of an anti-intellectual trend in contemporary America? If so, how can you reconcile this with widespread enthusiasm for education?
8. Have you noted any utilitarian trends in American education? If so, do you regard these as good or bad?
9. What do you understand by the expression "academic freedom"? On what grounds is it attacked and defended?
10. In the light of what has happened since his day, would you say that Jefferson's faith in knowledge has or has not been justified?
11. Do you regard his educational philosophy as adequate? If not, what would you add to it?

Suggestions for Reading

Radioscript in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. XII

Account of Jefferson's educational plans in his "Notes on Virginia" (Koch & Peden, pp. 262-268)

Discussion of these in Jefferson the Virginian, pp. 280-285

Later discussions in his letters:

To John Tyler, May 26, 1810 (Koch & Peden, pp. 604-605)

To Peter Carr (nephew), September 7, 1814 (Koch & Peden, pp. 642-649)

R. J. Honeywell, The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson (Harvard Univ. Press, 1931): an excellent monograph, if anybody wants a thorough treatment.

Program 10

Program Title: "NATURAL AND ARTIFICIAL ARISTOCRACY"

Record Title: "NATURE'S MOST PRECIOUS GIFT"

Historical Background

Because of limitations of space it has been impossible to do justice in this program to the story of the relationship between Jefferson and Adams, and of their reconciliation in 1812, when one of them was in his sixty-ninth year and the other in his seventy-seventh. This is one of the most wonderful stories in American history. It may be briefly summarized by saying that the two men stood shoulder to shoulder in the struggle for independence, that they became even more intimate friends when they represented their country abroad just after the American Revolution, that they were thrown into political opposition in the last decade of the eighteenth century (Adams defeating Jefferson for the presidency in 1796 and being defeated by him in 1800), and that their reconciliation in 1812, after both had fully retired from public life, was brought about by their mutual friend and fellow signer of the Declaration of Independence, Dr. Benjamin Rush. Their correspondence during the next fourteen years ranged over the whole field of human thought and learning, and it shows them to have been supreme examples of the natural aristocracy of talent and virtue they talked about. History contains no more dramatic coincidence than their death on the same day, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Actually, Adams was wrong in saying that Jefferson still survived, for of the two it was the younger who died first.

This program is historically accurate from beginning to end, though the quotations do not always follow the precise chronological order. They have been pieced together and modified here and there, but essentially the words are just as these men wrote them.

Argument

This program, which is drawn almost entirely from the correspondence of

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Jefferson and John Adams in their old age, is perhaps the most difficult of them all to follow and unquestionably it is full of food for thought. These two men, who had given the best part of their lives to the actual problems of government though often they would have preferred doing something else, now discuss the meaning of government. They do this informally in letters, not systematically as one would in a treatise. Thus they jump back and forth and at times the progress of their thought may not be wholly clear. The main topic is aristocracy, which had been a bone of contention between them during their political rivalry. John Adams said that they ought to explain things to each other before they died. What they do here is explain the term and make their respective attitudes known; and it appears in the end that there is little difference between them except in the means recommended to prevent the worst evils of both aristocracy and democracy. This is more than an exercise in semantics, for they raise fundamental and timeless questions. We ourselves talk much less about aristocracy and much more about democracy than they did, but the issues which they associated with these terms are still here.

There was a time when Adams was charged with favoring Old-World aristocracy, that is, a system of hereditary privilege. Actually he never did advocate this for America, but he did point out the limitations and dangers of democracy. He did not believe that universal suffrage and frequent elections constituted a panacea for political ills. Indeed, he thought there was even more danger of corruption under a completely democratic system than under one that had some hereditary elements in it -- a mixed system like that of the English, consisting of a House of Lords as well as a House of Commons. On the other hand, Jefferson was charged with favoring the rule of the majority to such a degree as to advocate "mobocracy", or the rule of the rabble. Actually he was always a discriminating democrat who believed in the rule of intelligence rather than that of the emotional mob, and he strongly emphasized minority rights. The views of both men were grossly distorted by political partisanship, but they themselves were far more than politicians. They were profound thinkers on the subject of government, and both of them

wanted to bring about the highest possible degree of public and private happiness.

Adams tried to be a realist. To borrow a figure of speech from Gilbert and Sullivan, he played the "hose of common sense" on the foibles and sentimentalities of his time. In his mellow old age he argued about aristocracy as follows: (1) The testimony of history is that wealth and birth have actually prevailed in all ages; (2) There is no use talking about equality, since men are born unequal in body and mind; (3) Strong and able men are always likely to get into the saddle; (4) Therefore, aristocracy (of birth and wealth) cannot be got rid of; it can only be controlled; (5) The best practical means of controlling it is to give it a recognized, though not a dominant, position in the government. (His ideas on this subject are not entirely clear, but he thought it inevitable that there should be some representation of wealth in the government.); (6) Absolute power is abhorrent in any form -- even in a majority in a popular representative body -- and the only safeguard against it is a balanced government.

Jefferson's argument went like this: (1) Hereditary aristocracy had no real place in America; in reality it was so unpopular that an "aristocrat" was at a disadvantage if he ran for public office; (2) There is no denying the inequalities of men in natural endowment, but artificial inequality is unreasonable and undesirable; (3) An aristocracy of birth and wealth is artificial. It should not be buttressed by law, and, so far as wealth is concerned, it need not be, since wealth can be counted on to look after itself. (This does not mean that he favored any sort of confiscation of property; what he wanted to get rid of was artificial protection.); (4) In any sort of society there is constant danger that the rascals will gain control, but the best of safeguards is the good sense of the whole body of the people -- who must be educated; (5) The natural aristocracy of talent and virtue, which is scattered through all ranks of society, is Nature's most precious gift; and the best of all governments is one in which aristocrats of this sort have the best chance to become leaders of society.

On the natural aristocracy, thus defined in terms of ability and character, Adams and Jefferson were finally agreed. The best society, they believed, is the

one in which the best people are the recognized leaders. Thus they addressed themselves at last to the question of leadership in a free society. Hereditary privilege will not provide it, and there is no absolute assurance that political democracy (universal suffrage, majority rule, etc.) will. There is a great danger, which Adams perceived more clearly than Jefferson, that a democratic society will be scornful of talented men and will become so corrupt as to scorn men of high character. History affords many examples of the rise to power of unscrupulous demagogues who enjoy immense popularity. Sometimes these have been men of great ability, but very frequently they have appealed to emotion and prejudice rather than to intelligence, and all too often they have been lacking in character. Jefferson, while aware of the danger that a free democratic society might not choose the best leaders, believed that it generally would, and thought it much more likely to do so than any other sort of society. More than Adams, he was a man of faith. This confidence in the essential wisdom of free men is the finest part of his heritage to posterity. Indeed, it lies at the heart of it. Adams, who regarded himself as more realistic, valued it, nevertheless. Jefferson steered his bark "with Hope in the head, leaving Fear astern"; and, at last, Adams wanted to sail with him. It was of the dauntless faith of his old friend that he must have been thinking when he said, on his own deathbed, "Thomas Jefferson still survives".

Questions and Topics for Discussion

1. What do you think most people mean by the term "aristocrat" when they use it in our country in our time? Wealth? Birth? Manners?
2. Would you say that aristocracy of birth represents any problem in our own day in America?
3. Is there a problem of aristocracy of wealth? Is this "aristocracy" likely to be perpetuated, or can we rely on the old saying, "three generations from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves"?
4. What did John Adams mean when he said that aristocracy was "wrought into the fabric of the universe"?
5. Did Jefferson argue that all men were naturally equal?

6. What did he mean by the natural aristocracy of talent and virtue?
7. Would you say that the growth of political democracy (extension of the suffrage, etc.) tends to increase the likelihood that aristocrats of talent and virtue will be elected to high public office? If not, why not?
8. What do you think Jefferson's reaction would be to the attacks in our own time on "brain trusters"? What would Adams say about them?
9. Consider the following quotation from Adams: "The fundamental article of my creed is that despotism . . . is the same in a majority of a popular assembly, an aristocratic council, an oligarchical junta, and a single emperor. Equally arbitrary, cruel, bloody, and in every respect diabolical" (p. 164 in radioscript). Apply this to our own country or any other at the present time, to show where the greatest danger of despotism lies.
10. What do you think Adams meant when he recommended a "balanced government" as the best means to prevent any of these tyrannies? Do contemporary conflicts in the United States between the legislative and executive branches of the government have any bearing on the question?
11. What means did Jefferson suggest to assure the election of "the wise and good" to public office? Can you suggest any others?
12. Spell out "wise and good" in the light of our own times. That is, what sort of qualities should we look for in our leaders and what sort should we avoid?
13. Can you think of anything in our time which would discourage desirable leaders from assuming public office?
14. Do you agree with the statement of Adams that the science of government has stood still, while all other sciences have advanced? If so, what is your explanation?
15. Make any suggestions you can about bettering the practice of government.

Suggestions for Reading

Radioscript in The Jeffersonian Heritage, Ch. XIII

Letters from Jefferson to Adams, in Koch & Peden

January 21, 1812 (pp. 615-616)
June 27, 1813 (pp. 627-628)
October 28, 1813 (pp. 632-634)
April 8, 1816 (p. 667)
September 12, 1821 (pp. 702-703)

Note: 'Adams' letters are less accessible. The entire correspondence between him and Jefferson will probably be published within a few years. Meanwhile, those who can get hold of the following books will find them interesting:

Paul Wiltach, Correspondence of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, 1812-1826 (Bobbs-Merrill, 1925) - a selection.

Zoltan Haraszti, John Adams and the Prophets of Progress (Harvard Univ. Press, 1952), esp. Chs. I - III.